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THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICA

THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICA

A STUDY IN NATIONAL ORIGINS

BY

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is to discover the religious elements which from various European sources entered into the making of America—an attempt to trace to their European channels the Reformation principles which are the very springs of our national life.

For those principles sought national channels which colored their expression. It is the same fluid composed of two parts of hydrogen and one of oxygen which everywhere waters the earth. But in one place it comes blue as the heavens from Alpine glaciers; in another, transparent as crystal from mountain springs; in another, yellow with alluvial deposits of the ground it has run over.

"Justification by faith" is the life-giving water of all Christian ages. But many lands gave it color. Dashing down the Alps like the "arrowy Rhone"; broadening past German hills, like the Rhine; slower and yet broader on the flats of Holland, like the Maas, and springing like unexpected fountains in a hundred flowering fields of England,—the doctrines of Luther stirred the hope of the world like rivers in the desert to weary travelers.

And these varying streams of the same essential Truth—in varying volume, color and speed—swept from European shores to America,—a veritable Are-

thusa amid the brackish waters of a world's despair. And on these new shores it left the deposit of the lands whence it came. To note those deposits and to try to measure their influence on the national life, is our simple purpose.

Or to revert to the title of this book, many workmen wrought on the foundations of our Christian Republic. The shapes of those foundation stones were variously determined. Some were larger than others; some more shapely; but they were all granite—hewn from that mountain of Truth which Luther uncovered to the longing eyes of many nations weary of the straw and stubble of their spiritual buildings.

All that we hope for will be attained if in a small measure we shall have made apparent the cosmopolitan character of our building, if we shall have shown that both strength and beauty are in the varieties of our spiritual architecture—that we are richer and more secure because into our great building, the cynosure now of the eyes of the world, elements which seemed conflicting in their origin in our clearer atmosphere appear rounded and symmetrical and mutually sustaining.

And may it not be prophetic of the value of wider diversities than we have yet known? Herbert Spencer tells us the interaction of dissimilar elements secures the strongest life. On that doctrine he bases the hope that America may yet develop the highest type of man —that here, by the combination of varieties, may yet appear the ultimate man. May we not add—and the ultimate civilization?

If taught and encouraged by our early experiment in nation-making we shall dare to accept elements we had disregarded or perhaps antagonized, perhaps by their inclusion, our final national building will rest more securely on a broader basis and so be knit into final beauty and strength. If once Teuton and Frank and Anglo-Saxon combined their expressions of Reformation Truth to build the free Christian constitution of the western republic, may not Latin and Greek and Oriental have some contribution to make to the ultimate temple of humanity—with foundations laid indeed in America, but with a dome comprehending the world?

With such hopes that in this dark year of grace we may get some lessons of encouragement from the past and some new courage to face a stormy present and be able in quiet confidence to look on to the future, this book is sent on its way.

The sources to which the author is indebted for material are too numerous to mention here. A partial list is appended and obligations are gratefully acknowledged.

Special acknowledgment should, however, be made of the valuable assistance of my friend, Miss Edith Grier Long, in the critical reading of the manuscript.

C. L. T.

New York.

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I

DAYBREAK IN EUROPE

THE religious foundations of America were laid in the old world—in Spain and Portugal—in Bohemia—in England—in Holland—in Germany and France. An examination of those foundations requires that we trace the history of religious thought through the principal countries of Europe. For the forms of Christianity that came to our shores had their rise and development among the nations which founded American governments and institutions.

Early discoveries on this continent, some of them in the name of religion, date back to an almost mythical past. It may be of interest to the historian to trace those discoveries and their bearing on national beginnings; but they will have little direct relation to our theme, for they made little, if any, contribution to the national life.

Thus it is probable that fishermen from Norway saw the coast of North America long before its discovery by Columbus. It is claimed there were adventurers and missionaries in Iceland as early as the eleventh, probably the tenth, century, who pushed their voyages as far, possibly, as the coasts of Maine. Whether these early discoverers were in any sense

missionaries cannot be told. If they were, the fruits of their labors, whether in lives or buildings, were swept away by the ferocity of the natives. There are dim traditions of other wanderers of the sea having sailed or drifted along the coasts of Greenland and possibly as far south as Newfoundland. But if so, they were ignorant of what they had seen and their discoveries, if such they may be called, had no relation whatever to subsequent history.

Our story begins, therefore, with the events and personages of the sixteenth century. Since the dawn of the Christian Era there has been no other century so vast in its influence on human affairs, so throbbing with world-wide movements, so shining in the men who gave those movements shape and power.

The preceding century was marked by great maritime discoveries which were to open the stage for the dramas of history that were so soon to follow. The invention of the compass in the fifteenth century opened the ocean to safe adventure. It was then that the nation so little considered in these days—the little Kingdom of Portugal—led the way in daring the perilous paths of the ocean. The first of these discoveries was along the coast of Africa in a dream that so there might be found a new way to India. To reach that land by sea was the ambition of Portuguese sailors until the end of the fifteenth century, when the possibility of such an undertaking fired the brain of the world's great discoverer, Christopher Columbus. It does not in the least dim the glory of his achievement that he supposed to the end of his

voyages that he had found a new road to India. The vision, the daring, the faith were his. These lifted a new world for perhaps the greatest and the last stage of human affairs. So closed the fifteenth century. So opened the century which gave the foundations, civil and religious, for this continental drama.

A glance at the leading events of that century easily leads one to expect it will usher in a new world on two continents. It was the age of Spain's most brilliant empire. She held the stage for at least a part of that century as the mightiest power in Europe. It was the age of Charles the Fifth. In several great wars this mighty and unscrupulous leader was victor over the power of France. But he attacked one power, apparently small and obscure, in the presence of which he went down in defeat. This Goliath, at whose feet lay the crowns of kings, could not withstand the sling and pebbles of the David of Protestantism.

And so emerges the second commanding event of that century. It was the age of Henry the Eighth. In his reign the Pope's authority in England was abolished and the times of persecution, and so the rise at once of democracy and of religious liberty, set in.

There is little to be admired in the character of the king who ruled during the stormy times from 1509 to 1547. Of him Sir Walter Raleigh wrote, "If all the pictures and patterns of a merciless prince were lost in the world they might all again be painted to the life out of the story of this king." But he was God's instrument for changes which were to affect history for many centuries.

Another outstanding event was the rise of civil and religious liberty in Holland. William of Orange was the champion of popular rights in government and religion which directly shaped much of our American national history.

Again, the sixteenth century was the century which ushered in the rise of Protestantism in France. It was the age of Calvin, of Coligny and the Huguenots; and so bore directly on the future of our own country.

And, finally, the sixteenth century witnessed one of the greatest eras in English history—the reign of Elizabeth. That reign, much to be criticized from a personal point of view, gave Great Britain a new standing in the eyes of the world. It abounded in all sorts of nation-making activities. It was the time of the world's unparalleled literary achievements, of signal discoveries and of victories over many enemies of England and of Protestantism, the greatest of which was the destruction of the " Invincible Armada." Thence dates new life for the Protestant cause not only in England but throughout Europe and prophetically in America.

Such were some of the events of the sixteenth century on whose pivots swung much of the history of man. That such events should suggest great characters, whether as causes or results, goes without saying. For ever great events are the shadows great men cast on the screen of history. Hence, the sixteenth century was alone in the artists it produced,—Michael Angelo and Titian and Raphael have had no successors; in the writers who have glorified the literature of the

world,—Edmund Spenser and William Shakespeare and Torquato Tasso; in the scientists who set human thinking forward by an immortal stride,—Copernicus, Galileo and Tycho Brahe.

While the first religious influence on this continent is thus to be found in the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, that we may somewhat appreciate the leisurely steps of the Almighty in His purpose toward America, it is necessary that we look back to the dawning of tendencies and events which were to usher in the new day. For God doeth nothing sudden. His slowness has often bewildered and then discouraged us in our superficial thinking. But the review of the times makes intelligible the coming of the times. America was to have a religion. What forms it should take can be prefigured as we study the movements of Christian thought on various levels in various countries of the old world.

The two great forms of such thought which created so much of the turbulent history of Europe from the twelfth to the sixteenth century were the Papacy and Protestantism. It is not important to note either of them save in their relations to each other and so to our own continental development.

The Papacy held iron sway from the dark ages. It ruled men's minds and consciences by ignorance, superstition and ecclesiastical despotism. To break those fetters and set men free in their eternal interests was the mission of Protestantism. The twelfth century witnessed the dawn of the conflict between these two phases of Christian thought and worship. In the

fastnesses of the Alps there was a little company of the Albigenses and the Waldenses, claiming a spiritual succession from the days of the Apostles, and keeping their faith sternly in the face of the world arrayed against them. They were witnesses to the undying power of the gospel. They left no institutions, not even a formulated creed, only holy and courageous characters true to the Truth even unto martyrdom.

If there is an apostolic succession one will not find it in the nave of the great cathedrals built by man, but in the mighty cathedrals of the towering Alps, where saints were testifying to a faith that had well-nigh faded from the knowledge of man. Generations of slaughter failed to wholly exterminate these witnesses. But their blood was the seed of the Church. Against an ecclesiastical hierarchy and despotism their unconquerable spirit started a revolt which later became mighty enough to dethrone kings, curb the Papal power and prepare in all countries the path for religious liberty.

The most determining factor in the gradual dawning of the Reformation in Europe was the revival of learning. It appeared splendidly in Spain, largely through the influence of the Moors who made of Granada a center of scientific research. It was hastened in Germany by the discovery of the art of printing,—the art as has been said "preservative of all arts." The treasures of classical lore, long buried in monasteries, were unlocked. Scholars who, on the fall of Constantinople, had fled to Italy recovered the Latin and Greek classics. A great humanist move-

ment led by Erasmus thus developed a love for literature which was easily turned to a rediscovery of the treasures of the Bible.

The opening of the Bible and its coming into the hands of the people was the mightiest stimulus for the awakening of the mind of Europe. Never was it so proved that science is the handmaid of religion as at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the printed Scriptures fell into the hands of the men whose conscience, heart and mind God had touched by His quickening spirit.

Here again was evident the coming together of signal events and signal characters. The concurrence of critical times and commanding men is a familiar historic fact. The Reformation was forced by the rise of learning and the struggle of peoples for freedom of thought, but it was men as the instruments of the Almighty who forced it.

And they arose not in one country or under favoring influences in one nation, but from every part of Europe. Like the rising of the sun it touched mountain peaks everywhere. It appeared in the daring career of John Wyclif, who was first of all reformers to say, "The only head of the Church is Christ." He denied the principal doctrines of the Papacy at a time when such denial was blasphemy. He sent priests forth throughout England to preach a purer gospel than the monasteries had dreamed of, and—crown of all his life—in 1382 he completed the first translation of the Scriptures and so released the book

long chained to a dead language and made it the best read book in England.

From the classic halls of Oxford the light kindled by Wyclif streamed eastward to the halls of the University of Prague in Bohemia. It fell on the mind of a young student who had been searching for it in a darkness he could not escape and opened the career of that national hero of Bohemia—John Huss. He broke with the Papacy only in part, but he held and advocated doctrines which in a subsequent century shattered the papal authority over men's consciences and judgment. He was condemned in the beautiful monastery in Constance. His judges, admiring his great personality, were reluctant to carry out the sentence. Any modification of his views would have saved him. But, like Luther a hundred years later, he knew not how to compromise. He was not indeed in possession of the full-orbed truth which shone on the reformers, but that segment of it to which he had attained he would not surrender and he suffered a martyr's death in the public square. He, like others later, lighted a candle which could not be put out.

Thus, during the latter part of the fourteenth century and during the fifteenth, the Reformation appeared only in the spiritual longing of a few great souls. The Church in the hands of the Papacy was not without some wholesome influence in the lives of people and nations. The discipline and uniformity of the great organized Papal Church, and the heroic lives of many of its priests, bishops and a few of the popes, contributed much after the fall of the Roman Empire

to the progress of mankind. It sent forth missionaries to England and Germany; it united Europe in the chimerical but yet heroic adventure of the Crusades. If its influence be compared with that of the rulers of mediæval Europe, some of the popes showed more political wisdom, and often even more moral purpose, than any succession of kings.

Especially was this harbinger of the Reformation apparent in Spain, due in part to the spiritual unrest everywhere in Europe, but in part also to the political sagacity of the two great rulers, Ferdinand and Isabella, and the genuine religious zeal of the queen. It was political wisdom which made them dare even the opposition of the Pope in the interest of an empire in which the Church would be the strongest exponent of national life. And it was religious zeal which induced them to demand among the clergy a better character, strenuous piety and a missionary spirit.

The leader of the Spanish reform movement was Francisco Ximenes, a great man who, though a Roman Catholic, is associated with Luther and Calvin as a reformer of the Church. He was a reformer within the Church of Rome. He did what he could to encourage learning, to lift the character of the clergy and to free the Church from the many corrupt practices which everywhere abounded. But how far he was in vision and in temper from the reformers who had left the Catholic Church is manifest in the fact that he favored the Inquisition with all its horrors. To be sure, he did it piously. To him it was the only method for staying the ravages of heresies which would

destroy the Church and the Kingdom of Christ. In the light of today there is no condemnation too severe to be visited on this institution of the dark ages. But Isabella and Ximenes did not have the light of today. They were struggling in darkness to a freedom they could not comprehend.

That which forced the Reformation into being, as against all the indifference of the multitude and the persecution of the powers, was the hunger of men for a peace of mind and a plane of life which no ecclesiastical system and no sporadic heroisms could give. The spirit which thus demanded expression was confined at first to the leaders of thought and action. But sure as the sunlight touches the mountain tops with early glow and then creeps down till every valley lies revealed, so surely did the Reformation inspire first a few great souls and then pass on till it became the common heritage of the common people.

It began with Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer in England, with Luther and Melancthon in Germany, with Calvin and Beza and Zwingli in France and Switzerland. They were the shining hilltops of the new thought and the new inspiration. But soul hunger is a common possession. Thus it was not long after Luther nailed his theses on the Wittenberg door before all Saxony was on fire and he found unexpected allies among people and priests and rulers. It was not long after Ridley and Latimer had lighted their candle till the humblest home in the kingdom was either warmed or kindled by its beams. John Knox caught fire in the presence of Calvin in Geneva

and, returning to his Edinburgh pulpit in the glow of new revelations of truth, soon found Scotland ablaze from the sea to the Grampians. And Calvin had no sooner built the Christian republic of Geneva than earnest souls in France were found ready to give allegiance to the Truth, even unto martyrdom.

Thus came the Reformation in a half-dozen European nations—gradually, simultaneously. It is said great discoveries in science or philosophy have often been found to appear in different places at about the same time. When the world is ripe for them they come. The world, after centuries of groaning, was ready for a new deliverance and, while hastened by concurrent events and lifted into light by a few commanding personalities, it had under its rise the heart of humanity, even as under the white waves is the great ocean yielding less visibly but more permanently to the pull of the tides.

Thus far we have considered the Reformation as the crowning event of the sixteenth century. But the Reformation can be fully understood only in its relation to the other great event of that period—the discovery of America.

It is easy to trace the hand of God in the synchronism of these great events. The Reformation must have a theater for its unfolding. The new world must have a population fit to develop it. In the fitting of the one to the other the hand of God moved in the sight of all men. It did not need a long perspective of history to show that the Almighty was working on a large scale and for world-wide ultimate results.

But it gets plainer every day. For thousands of years men have seen, and with vision clearing with every new century, that God's dealing with His ancient land was on a scale of millenniums and should affect the last years of human history. Since then there has been no other so remarkable juncture of providences as those which brought together the new world and the recovered Truth. What if they had not synchronized? What if the Reformation had been shut up to the European type of thought and life? What if the new world had dawned only on the form of Christianity represented by a Gregory or a Boniface? But it was not to be. For the sake of the world it must not be. So, as over the horizon of waters a new world rose stately and beckoning, over the horizon of Christian life rose a world of old truths as if from the apostolic age, but flooded with new inspirations and ready to respond in their might to the beckoning field where they should have scope and power. The hand of Luther on the hammer that nailed the theses at Wittenberg and the hand of Columbus on the wheel of the flagship were equally the hand of God.

II

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE OF SPAIN

AS already noted, it has become increasingly evident, as the half-mythical history of centuries has been uncovered, that America was sighted by wandering adventurers three, possibly four, centuries before the voyage of Columbus. But the discovery that meant anything to the world was reserved for the great Genoese. The honor of the discovery belongs to him and to Spain. Let us briefly sketch the earliest occupation of the Continent, the religious motives that impelled it and the results achieved.

When Columbus received authority from Ferdinand and Isabella to seek a sea route to the Indies across the western ocean the world was already a-tiptoe in expectation of vast changes in the world's history,—economic, political and religious. The revival of learning was creating that ferment of both thought and activity which always accompanies the awakening mind. For the first time geography was broadly and daringly studied.

Though India itself was not reached till six years after the discovery of America, the achievements of Portuguese and Spanish sailors thrilled all Europe with an expectation that yet greater results were coming.

Columbus, therefore, came upon the scene at an opportune moment. Intellectually and scientifically the world was getting ready to avail itself of any new opportunities for world expansion. It was ready for a larger area for the development of the larger ideas which were coming over the horizon.

Thus unconsciously to meet a world demand Columbus set sail for he knew not what. Maritime history knows no other so daring an adventure. In spite of the storms of the ocean, and the storms of criticism, opposition and threatened mutiny, he held the prow of his caravel steadily toward sunset. So Lowell interprets his great soul:

> "Here am I; for what end God knows, not I;
> Westward still points the inexorable soul;
> Here am I, with no friend but the sad sea,
> The beating heart of this great enterprise.
>
> . . . One day with life and heart,
> Is more than time enough to find a world."

When sight of the hills of Santo Domingo rewarded his faith he was wholly ignorant of what he had found. Something within him seemed to say it was no ordinary discovery to which he had come. Then, and in years after, he braved the elements and endured suspicion, calumny and persecution in the conviction that somehow his trials were not in vain. Even after his eyes rested at last on the American continent he was still in the dark as to the meaning of all he had suffered and found. It is often so. The prophets cannot enter into the harvest of their visions. Columbus, however,

lived long enough to know that his adventures were giving Spain and Europe a new expansion.

Almost immediately on his report to his sovereigns of the land and the people he had found, colonization to the West Indies began. In 1492 the first vessels loaded with adventurers set sail for those islands. Land after land was discovered. Early in the sixteenth century Balboa climbed the hills of Panama and looked out on the Pacific Ocean—

> "Stared at the Pacific, and all his men
> Looked at each other with a mild surmise
> Silent upon a peak in Darien."

In 1519 Magellan sailed through the straits that bear his name. In less than ten years Cortez had conquered Mexico, and in 1531-32 Spanish soldiers had robbed the gold-lined palaces of Peru of their priceless treasures to enrich the Spanish government. So the caravels of Columbus had scarce reached Spain before a great army of soldiers, sailors and priests set sail to claim the new world for Isabella and the Pope. The visitor to Porto Rico is shown at San Juan the glistening walls of the house of Ponce de Leon. He was one of the first of the long line of Spanish explorers who sought our coasts for gold, for empire, for the fountain of youth, and always for the Church. Various and fantastic as were the ruling ideas, reckless and godless as often were the men who were driven by them, their every adventure was baptized with the name of religion.

Thus an army of monks and priests accompanied

de Leon who were commanded by the Crown to convert the natives to the Catholic faith under penalty of slavery and death. It was no easy task. When he landed in Florida in 1521 and gave that coast the name which its abundant bloom suggests he was met with volleys of arrows. Wounded, baffled, discouraged by the fading of his dreams, he was driven back to Cuba, there to die a heartbroken man.

De Leon's followers took up the sacred mission. More soldiers, more priests crowded into the new world and in a few generations had pushed across the continent. One cannot fail to admire the intrepid heroism of that crusade through the unmarked wilderness, the march often arrested by bloody battles, the advance sometimes turned into retreat, the persistence by which that column pressed on until a sacred city was founded on the wilderness heights of New Mexico—Santa Fe—and the adventurous missionaries had claimed the Pacific Coast for queen and Pope.

In 1528 Panfilo de Narvaez, excited by the visions of gain and glory which then were firing the Spanish mind, set sail and with three hundred men, with full equipment of horses, trappings and stores, finally anchored in Appalachee Bay. Buoyant and confident, the little army pressed through swamps and forests in quest of treasures and kingdoms. After three months of fruitless adventure and appalling suffering a remnant returned to find the ships on which they hoped to return to Spain had mysteriously disappeared. Of such wreckage as they could find, they built crazy boats

and in them sailed westward until they reached the mouth of the Mississippi. Only four of the three hundred survived at this time. After eight years of wandering this little remnant reached the Spanish settlements on the Pacific.

In 1539 Hernando de Soto repeated the folly of the adventurers who had preceded him. With an army of six hundred men fully accoutered, proud and daring, he grappled the terrors of a wilderness which had engulfed so many soldiers of fortune, and after the common experience of conflict with savage people and savage nature he discovered the Father of Waters. The great river became his monument, for on its waters he sickened and died, and within them he was buried.

Another famous adventurer was Coronado, the Spanish governor of "new Galicia." With a still larger retinue, and accompanied by a band of eight hundred Indians, he pushed north from his Pacific province to find the fabled seven cities of "Cibalo." But his "castles in Spain" resolved themselves into Indian pueblos, much like the ruins even yet to be found in Arizona and New Mexico. Disappointed, but persistent, he marched on north and east until he reached the headwaters of the Missouri—finding only desert ruins and savages.

Thus for a century the Spanish and Portuguese occupation of the continent went on. Portugal entered that part of South America which afterwards became Brazil. Spain claimed all of the rest of South America, Central America and North America in

various claims reaching to the Pacific and north to the Lakes.

It is estimated that in seventy years from the founding of St. Augustine there were thirty thousand Indian converts distributed in forty-four missions under direction of thirty-five Franciscan missionaries. This in Florida. In the hundred years following, Franciscan friars went everywhere throughout the West, baptizing as many natives as would submit to a Christian rite and establishing missions and Christian institutions. At one time practically the whole population of what is now New Mexico was counted Christian.

Permanent settlements were first established in South America and the West Indies. Indeed, universities were opened before any place was permanently occupied in North America. Thus the Spanish founded St. Augustine in 1565. But in 1538 they had opened a university in Santo Domingo. In 1551 a university was founded in Peru and one in Mexico in 1553. Universities were also established in Argentina, Bolivia, Venezuela, Cuba, Chile, and other sections in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Thus many seats of learning were established before Harvard College was opened. Not only were there schools of higher learning for the few—carrying often undeserved the title of university—but there were some schools for the common people established by the Jesuit missionaries to teach the Indians reading, writing and the manual arts. But neither these schools nor the

universities secured popular intelligence. When the Congress of Christian Workers, held in Panama in 1916, had made its careful survey of moral and religious conditions in Latin America, illiteracy in some parts as high as eighty-five per cent. was found to be general among the eighty millions of the population.

Great cathedrals also abounded. The missionaries, assisted by the government, taking pattern from European church buildings, erected cathedrals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the ruins of which attest how solidly their foundations were laid and their great walls lifted. Thus a few miles below the city of Panama one finds the broken arches and towers of a cathedral dating from 1719. But as the colleges failed to secure popular education, so the cathedrals failed to secure popular morality.

The religious foundations laid in South America by the army of Jesuit, Dominican and Franciscan priests and friars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were such as would be expected from religious leaders whose education and inspiration came from the days of the Spanish Inquisition. He who should have regarded America at that time from a philosophical standpoint or from that Napoleonic standpoint which says God is on the side of the battalions, would have said America will be a Spanish colony and its religion will be dictated at Rome. For had not the enterprise which sentineled it from Key West to California the power of a great state and a great Church behind it? "Surely nothing can withstand the forces led by de

Soto, Pizarro and their associates and inspired by religious leaders ready to crown their ambitions with martyrdom! This country will be a Spanish America." So would the historical prophet have declared at the middle of the sixteenth century.

In a book written by Abbé Genty in 1787 the question is seriously raised whether the discovery of America was a blessing to mankind. He admits, however, one undoubted blessing, viz.: the discovery and use of quinine. The question is often raised whether the coming of Spaniards and Portuguese boded any lasting good for South America and whether whatever progress the people have made has been possible and actual only after the European inheritance of despotism and perverted Christianity has been sloughed off from the body politic. That the twenty republics of Latin America have made political progress and achieved stability of government now remarkably free from the interruptions of revolution to which, under monarchies, they had been accustomed is beyond question. Under the inspiration of the great republic north of them they have struggled up to democracy. We on this continent cannot doubt the blessing which has thus accrued not only to these shores but to humanity everywhere.

But how about the influence of the forms of Roman Catholicism imported from Spain at the time of her greatest national splendor and her greatest ecclesiastical corruption? That this influence was not an unmixed blessing to the nations on this continent, that it had elements of damage not only to the religious but

also to the political life of those nations, that it often left the superstitious in their superstitions and the immoral in their immorality, cannot, in the light of recent investigations, be doubted.

But we should deal unfairly with historic facts if we dismissed the element of Roman Catholicism in its influence on America with a general and sweeping condemnation. Doubtless the history of America had been vastly different if a slight turn of the wheel of the flagship of Columbus had turned the prow northwest instead of southwest. It has been said that a flight of parrots determined the final direction of that ship. They flew in from the southwest. That way there must be land. So Santo Domingo gave first anchorage for the great navigator, and so a few years later on a subsequent voyage he found the coast of South America. It was the breath of God that wafted those parrots to the eyes of Columbus and so determinded that not North, but South America should receive the adventurers and missionaries from Spain who should impress Spanish government and religion on the new continent. But to the thoughtful student the question recurs—What blessing, if any, came to the new world?

Of the treasures which in Spanish bottoms were carried across the Atlantic to enrich Spanish monarchs there is no question. When Pizarro demanded a room filled with gold as high as man could reach as the ransom for the life of the Peruvian monarch, he received enough gold to satisfy even the ambition of a Charles the Fifth. But far beyond the value of treasures for

a hundred years exported to Europe was the wealth of mountains, plains and mines which was to furnish means for national development to the governments of South America not only, but for the enriching of the entire continent. The physical treasures of South America are as great as the boasted wealth of North America—needing only enterprise, skill and character for their development. And the whole world is incomparably richer because Columbus discovered America. Quinine to cure chills and fever is not the chiefest product of a new world.

But let us get back to our theme. Religious foundations were laid in America a century before the Pilgrim Fathers found Plymouth Bay. What is their value in the permanent structure of Christian republics? Perhaps a time element should divide the answer. What was their value in the first occupation of the country? What elements of abiding value have they now? It is as easy as it is superficial for Protestants to say, "They had no value two centuries ago. They have none now."

There can be no question that the first impress of Christian truth on the southern half of the continent was neither deep nor lasting. It came from a land where the ashes of superstition had deadened the flame of real spiritual life. It came at a time when the standards of the Inquisition still ruled the religious life. It is true Spain shared a little in the quickening of conscience and spiritual life which was agitating Europe. Ximenes, according to his light, was the Martin Luther for a Spanish reformation. But he

and the few who thought and felt with him stood in the shadows of a night that had scarce begun to retire. So the messengers who in the new world would represent the Kingdom of Christ were too sharply bound in chains of superstition to give any clear utterance of truth, however sincere their desires and earnest their efforts. Those efforts in many cases reached the high water-mark of heroism.

There never has been more heroic devotion than that by which Jesuit and Franciscan monks and priests sought to win the natives of South America to an acceptance of the gospel as they understood it. It is true they regarded themselves as the emissaries of the State. It is true their conception of the salvation of Indians was that they might be a spiritual treasure for Spanish sovereigns. It is true that in pursuit of their religious aims they were sometimes not averse to using physical force—giving those they would convert the alternatives of baptism or death. And yet among those who were actuated by lowest motives or by fanatically mistaken motives there were some whose sincerity and self-sacrifice brighten the annals of missionary service and were a blessing to the people. Their labors, often wholly in vain, should not blind us to the reality of their piety and the splendors of their zeal.

Perhaps the clearest indication of such piety and zeal appears in connection with Cortes' conquest of Mexico. The Spanish government entered on that conquest with something of the spirit of a crusade. At the forefront of every march was carried the

Cross. On the standard of Cortes was emblazoned a red cross with the legend, "Friends, let us follow the Cross and under this sign if we have faith we shall conquer."

First of all, commanders were instructed to convert the natives. That this was done for the glory of Spain does not obscure the single-hearted obedience with which these instructions were carried out. Thus Prescott says: "The Spanish cavalier felt he had a high mission to accomplish as a soldier of the Cross. He was in arms against the infidel. Not to care for the soul of his benighted enemy was to put his own in jeopardy. The conversion of a single soul might cover a multitude of sins. It was not for morals that he was concerned, but for the faith. This, though understood in its most literal and limited sense, comprehended the whole scheme of Christian morality. Whoever died in the faith, however immoral had been his life, might be said to die in the Lord."

This was the creed of Cortes. No other had he conceived. Was not this the teaching of all the schools and the preaching of all monks and priests? A few of the priests who accompanied him and on whom he relied to make the creed effective were men far in advance of the general trend of Spanish Romanism. One of these, Father Bartholomé de Olmedo, would scarce be recognized as a Spanish monk because of the rare union in him of fervent zeal and enlightened charity. "By his wise and benevolent counsels he was often enabled to mitigate the cruelty of the conquerors

and turn aside the edge of the sword from the unfortunate natives."

But the name that shines with greatest splendor in the annals of the Spanish occupation of America is that of Bartholomé de Las Casas. His father was a soldier with Columbus in his first voyage to America. When Cuba was occupied the young priest obtained a curacy in the island. From his first acquaintance with the native population he was fired with the one ambition which ruled all his succeeding years—to ameliorate the condition of the conquered race. That race was rapidly melting away under unparalleled cruelty and oppression. Las Casas, with sublime devotion, gave himself for their salvation not only for eternity but for time. He carried their oppressions to his sovereigns. He pleaded their cause with convincing eloquence, so that a commission was appointed to correct these abuses and Las Casas was honored with the title of "Protector General of the Indians."

Later he proposed that a large tract of country in "Tierra Firme" might be ceded to him for the purpose of planting a colony there and of converting the natives to Christianity. This he declared he would attempt not by force, as had been so often attempted, but by the peaceful measure of preaching and illustrating the truths of the gospel. His plan, in that military age, was declared to be chimerical. The Indians, it was claimed, could be subdued only by force. It was the sword, not the gospel, that must win for Christianity. The Indian was even declared to be incapable of civilization. We need not be wholly surprised at

such an attitude. Our own American history is not without similar suggestions. The matter became so important that Charles the Fifth required that it should be considered in public discussion before him. In that discussion the missionary, undaunted by the august presence in which he stood, delivered these wonderful words, unheard before in that court and rare in any age: "The Christian religion is equal in its operation and is accommodated to every nation on the globe. It robs no one of his freedom, violates none of his inherent rights on the ground that he is a slave by nature as is pretended, and it well becomes your majesty to banish so monstrous an oppression from your kingdoms in the beginning of your reign that the Almighty may make it long and glorious." Las Casas prevailed.

In 1520 he sailed for America with men and means to carry out his project. In the end it failed because it was in the neighborhood of a Spanish settlement which had committed such cruelties that the natives were already in arms against all who bore the name of Christian.

Discouraged because his visions of a peaceful propagation of the gospel were fading he retired to a monastery in the island of Hispaniola (Haiti). In that retreat he had the sympathy of the Dominican monks who were as devoted to the cause of freedom in the new world as they had been hostile to it in the old.

But the life of the great missionary could not be confined within monastery walls. He found opportunity for many long and perilous missionary journeys and preached the gospel in Nicaragua and Guatemala.

In the latter province some wild tribes who had defied their conquerors were won by his persuasions to an acceptance of the gospel. His long life was full of missionary labors—the results of which were often swallowed up in the floods of fanaticism and persecution which characterized the labors of so many of his fellow priests. The spirit in which Las Casas toiled may be gathered from these noble words in one of his too little known writings:

"The most certain and convenient rule and doctrine that in these lands and other pagan lands like them Christians ought to give and hold when they go for a short time into a place, and also when they go to live among them, is to give them very good examples of virtuous and Christian works in order that, as says our Redeemer, seeing them they praise and give glory to the God and Father of the Christians, and by them judge that He who has such worshipers cannot but be the good and true God."

If such lofty sentiments had been generally entertained by those who sought the religious occupation of the continent, how different had been the history of Latin America!

But such sentiments inspired only a few great souls. For lack of them the collapse of the Spanish Empire in North America was as sudden as its rise had been startling. The Indians rose against their missionaries in the West and drove them out. Florida, California, New Mexico, became part of the United States. By 1848 nothing was left of the Spanish dominion. Professor O'Gorman, the Roman Catholic historian, says,

"Names of saints in melodious Spanish stand out from maps in all that section where the Spanish monk trod, toiled and died. A few thousand Christian Indians, descendants of those they converted and civilized still survive in New Mexico and Arizona. And that is all."

But now that we may estimate the real permanent value of the missionary enterprises undertaken, as we have said, in the spirit of a religious crusade, we must examine the religious condition of the Latin America of today. Giving full credit to the zeal and sincerity of many of the early missionaries, and recognizing the historic fact that in many cases whole tribes of Indians were more or less influenced by the form of the gospel given them, what has been the large and final result on the moral and spiritual upbuilding of the southern republics? The religious leaven given them has had centuries for its working. The religious foundations have had the trial of centuries. What has been the superstructure attesting their value? Let us hear the testimony of Lord Bryce, after extensive observation in South America: "The Latin Church labors under the grave misfortune of the absence of a religious foundation for thought and conduct."

Canon Robinson, an Anglican historian of missions, says: "We realize and we thank God for the good work which the Roman Catholic missions have done and are doing in many parts of the world; but our appreciation of this cannot blind our eyes to the fact that in Central and South America the missions of the Roman Catholic Church have proved an almost com-

plete failure." Of South America he says: "After three centuries of nominal Christianity any conversion of its peoples which will involve the practice of the elementary teaching of Christianity lies still in the seemingly distant future."

Professor Harlan P. Beach of Yale University, in summing up the impressions and conclusions of the Panama Congress of Christian Workers, writes thus: "Roman Catholicism in varying degrees preserves the aspect of a state religion and professes to occupy adequately all of Latin America, for which it desires to assume sole religious responsibility—resenting and opposing the proffered help of Evangelical churches. Scientific candor, based on the best testimony of Roman Catholic and Protestant sources, compels the belief that the Latin Church is unable to do for those republics what their inhabitants need to see accomplished. Its priests, with few notable exceptions, are discredited with the thinking classes. Its moral life is weak and its spiritual witness faint. It is weighted with mediævalism and other non-Christian accretions."

The facts thus cited and a multitude of other and similar facts forced on the Christian mind of North America the conclusion that the foundations laid and the moral and religious superstructure erected in Latin America would not meet the fundamental conditions of free government as, of course, they would not advance the spiritual interests of the people. When the extensive and thorough survey which the Panama Congress inaugurated was completed it became alarmingly evident that for the conservation of democratic

ideals on this continent there must be an intellectual and moral uplift of Latin America. Not alone did North America realize this fact. Political as well as Christian workers in South America confessed it.

To an alarming extent the intellectual leaders have lost their faith and so their interest in the only form of Christianity of which they had knowledge. There is an increasing number of thoughtful men who, almost of necessity, confound the dominant religion about them with religion in every form—have not only made shipwreck of their faith, but who have become violent opposers of all religion. There are many others who regard Christianity with agnostic tolerance, as a matter which does not and cannot concern them. There are others who are earnest, intellectual inquirers, but with neither chart nor compass are drifting hopelessly on a sea of doubt.

So all forms and degrees of unbelief abound. Not five per cent. of university students in South America give any indication of real interest in religious subjects. Yet these men are soon to be the leaders in public affairs. It goes without saying that republics thus founded on weak morals and indifference, or opposition to all those higher impulses and aspirations expressed in the Christian faith, are not securely built. Let us give a few moments to the question of the relation of the facts above stated to the total American life.

It were a mistake to suppose that South America could develop a strong national life dissociated from North America. With the opening of the Panama

Canal the idea of two separate Americas is exploded. Henceforth there is one continent with common interests and, in a general way, with a common destiny. This unity of the new America is significantly illustrated in the Pan-American Union which is binding the two halves of the continent together in commercial, scientific and political relations. There has been no more significant fact in the last decade than the approach to each other along various vital lines of the United States and Latin America.

The great war now devastating Europe and blackening civilization is forcing upon thoughtful people everywhere the question of world reconstruction. Nor oceans, nor forms of government, nor racial characteristics shall henceforth separate the nations from each other. No longer can our best thoughts be local, national or even continental. They must be world thoughts.

A vital part of this world construction is our reconstruction of our ideas of the two Americas. They have been worlds apart in their inheritances—political and religious. They are now together in their democratic conceptions of government. That these shall permanently dominate the national life, it is of the first consequence that they shall be one in their moral and religious ideals. And this, not only for the salvation of each individual republic. When the Jews were rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem every builder was commanded to build over against his own house. There was individualism. The completed wall would be no stronger than its weakest part. Twenty-one republics

had been building each against his own house; together they constitute the wall of continental defense, the line of continental progress. America at last will be strong in the strength of commonly accepted and commonly applied educational, moral and spiritual ideals.

While the views above presented and the conclusions reached justify the statement that some of the foundation stones laid in Latin America and some of the forms of thought and life built thereon need to be removed, a fair estimate of the influences which four centuries have been shaping requires the recognition of some important Latin-American contributions to the continental life. A broad national philosophy makes it plain that every people have some gifts to add to the sum total of human progress. Only by an induction as wide as history can we get the real value of all the elements that make up human life. Not any people or race is created for naught. In these later days we are learning how the mingling of all kinds of national inheritance and achievement constitutes the basis for America's greatness. Our wisest philosophers have been telling us that the breadth of our national base, secured by the contributions which a score of nationalities has given, is the condition of our strength. What contribution has Latin America made?

The proper answer to this question calls for a glance at the share which Latinism has had in shaping the history of Europe. In the early Reformation days the tendency was to deny any value to any influence emanating south of the Alps. And so far as merely

Reformation ideas were concerned, it was true. The doctrines that remade the intellectual and moral life of Europe came from the northern regions. They were born not on the Mediterranean but on the Rhine and the North Sea. And yet we shall have distorted views if we fail to own the later influence of Italy and Spain in the religious tone of the later centuries. The value of all latitudes is to be noted in the physical climate of the world. Toughest races, it is said, come from the ruder climate. The lower latitudes are enervating. But while this is true Providence secures a fine climatic balance by the mingling of the winds that blow over spice gardens of the south and glaciers of the north. Every latitude is contributory to the beautiful harmony of seasons whereby they modify and sustain each other. It requires the torrid latitudes to soften the arctic.

This fact of natural history may both illustrate and confirm the interdependence of intellectual and religious latitudes. The Reformation came from the rugged thinking of northern Europe. Because virile and radical thought alone was then taken account of, the accumulations of Latin religious life were thrust aside. The art and music and ceremonials which had throttled the spiritual life were allowed no place in the new program. They were considered essentially ungodly. Worship became bare and hard—an intellectual gymnastic, from which grace and beauty were rigidly excluded. It took two centuries to correct the notion that beauty was inimical to goodness, and that an ornate service was dangerous to piety. Within a few

generations the Church has swung away from that conception. Music, architecture, the graces of public worship, are no longer cast out. The Christian climatic influence is asserting its balance. Up from the cathedrals of the South the spirit of beauty has gradually moved into the severe theologies, and the hard and barren forms of service to tone them to a finer harmony without destroying their virility.

Bearing these general ideas in mind we come back, to the question, what is the contribution of Latinism to the religious life of America? It is the gift of art, grace and beauty. That it lacks the basis for religious thought and moral character we have already conceded. Its work is not on the foundation stones. However, it adds attractiveness to walls that are rising on true foundations. To depend on them were painting pictures on the air or trailing vines where there is no support. But to cast aside as worthless or dangerous all that the genius and imagination of the Latin world has wrought out, through many centuries, were to remand our Christian life to the severity and barrenness of the days when music was considered an offense to God and attractive forms of worship disastrous to the worshipers. It is one of the great functions of time to moderate extremes. That will be the happy day of our Christian civilization when strength and beauty shall combine to glorify our temple of worship, when in the building of that temple we shall be willing to own and rejoice in the granite of Calvin and Knox and also the imagination and grace and grandeur of Angelo and Da Vinci and Raphael.

III

THE RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE OF FRANCE

WE have alluded to the conflict between Catholic and Huguenot that marked the early part of the sixteenth century. This conflict was soon to be transferred to the new world. When the glowing reports of Spanish exploration in America reached the French court it is said Francis the First exclaimed: "Look at Spain and Portugal! Why should these princes coolly divide the new world between them? I should like to see that article of Adam's will which gives them America!" To dispute that claim heroic measures were adopted. The French purse was at the disposal of any who should contend with Spain for the right to America, and expedition followed expedition to make good that contention. This movement looking to the occupation of the continent was also under the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church and it marched under the banner of the Lilies of France. Often under fire at home, France from the first had looked forward to a great empire in the new world. Breton fishing fleets annually visiting Newfoundland acquainted the French people with the coast of America.

So in 1524 a bold adventurer, Verazanno, set out to claim the coast which Spaniards had preëmpted. He

landed on the shores of North Carolina, pushed southward to Georgia, then north all the way to the St. Lawrence. He, first, described the seaboard of the future thirteen colonies and predicted that the world was bigger than had been thought. In making report of his extensive voyage he declared he had found "another world, evidently larger than our Europe together with Africa and perhaps Asia." In another voyage a few years later the unfortunate explorer was, according to some authorities, slain and devoured by cannibals; according to others, hanged as a pirate.

For a number of years little more was known of the new world, though sundry and marvelous tales of wealth in the new continent thrilled the ears of France. The king found in Jacques Cartier a sea-rover burning for further adventures across the sea. He made several voyages and extended indefinitely his master's dominion. As the French had now explored from the Carolinas to the St. Lawrence they claimed for their king the entire Atlantic coast and called it New France. Meantime, the treasures of the sea along the Newfoundland banks added zest to the ambition of a restless populace. Every year a fleet of ships crossed the ocean to fish for cod. Some settlements were attempted along the coast, but miserably failed. Permanent settlement about the St. Lawrence was not effected till the dawn of the seventeenth century.

Meantime, however, tragic events were taking place along the Florida coast,—events whose beginnings were across the sea. France was feeling the thrills of the Reformation movement. The doctrines of

Calvin found a turbulent welcome among the common people and a large following among the nobility. Persecution only fanned the flame. The reckless court of Catherine de Medici stopped at no extremes of cruelty. A hundred thousand of the best people of France were driven from their homes for failure to abjure their faith. They fled to Holland, Switzerland and England. But now a new refuge appeared. The air was rife with stories of the beauty and wealth of Florida. That should be their haven of rest. Providence then raised up the man who should be a tower of strength to the fleeing Huguenots—Gaspard de Coligny.

He stands for the loftiest spirit of the Huguenots. His heroism is the European type of every modern struggle for civil and religious liberty. The core of his character was a deep religiousness. He was in this the Cromwell of the French people. The will of God was his pole-star. While yet a Romanist—a prisoner in a Flemish castle—the true light just beginning to break on the soldier's mind, he found his only solace in deference to the will of God. And when at the end, wounded by an assassin, he calmed the turbulence of his friends with the same sublime submission, "The will of the Lord be done." Reserved and cautious, it required the consecrated enthusiasm of his noble wife to rouse him to arms. He hesitated not from cowardice but from conscience, not from timidity but from tenderness. Shrinking from the sorrow that would come upon her, he offered her eight days to consider whether he should plunge to the rescue of Protestantism. With Spartan spirit she cried, "The

eight days are past already." This parted the last strand that held him to Rome.

Distinctly renouncing every human ambition, exclaiming, "In the name of Jehovah we will set up our banners," he advanced to the conflict, not indeed with the dash of a Condé but with the resolute earnestness of the man who could reach a hand through time to measure far results. Through the alternations of battle he held his army to the loftiest convictions. After his first victory he drew his soldiers into line to sign a solemn league and covenant. In his army, as with the English Puritans, the voice of prayer and the singing of psalms blended with the roar of battle.

In intellectual qualities more like Grant than any other captain—strict in discipline, reticent, stubbornly courageous, clinging to the main issue, not elated by victory nor depressed by defeat, terrific in assault and still more masterly in retreat; in moral qualities more unselfish than Cromwell, as true as Washington, as devout as Adolphus, he held his way through open assault and secret plot, sleepless, tireless, undaunted—the very ideal of Christian heroism. And when the night of his martyrdom came, came because his heart was too confiding to believe in the colossal perfidy of Catherine de Medici, it found him asleep as if in the arms of God. The cry of the assassin bursting his chamber door only composed him to prayer. His serenity did not leave him then. The majesty that had marked his life sublimated his death. It was this spirit that largely passed into the lives of the Huguenots everywhere.

Coligny early discerned in the new world a land of safety, freedom and hope. In July, 1555, a motley company sailed from Havre for South America, and early in November entered the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. The Catholic party was glad to see the emigration. It would rid France of some of the troublesome heretics. To the King it meant only some of his subjects seeking new lands to plant there the Lilies of France. Other expeditions to South America followed, but all came to grief either by the treachery on shipboard or by natives on the shore.

The next refuge sought by the Huguenots was on the Florida coast. Jean Ribault, a devoted Huguenot and a stout sailor, was in command. Landing in what they named the River May, now known as the broad and sluggish St. Johns, they made plans for a permanent settlement. They found the Indians friendly. Ribault in turn was friendly to the Indians. But disaffection soon rose in the colony. Unwise action of individuals toward the natives turned them against the now hungry and discouraged band. After an effort to establish themselves in a fort named "Fort Royal" Ribault found it necessary to sail back to France to get fresh supplies. He called for volunteers to remain and keep the colony intact till his return. A goodly company volunteered, and Ribault sailed away leaving them to their own devices and the precarious friendship of the natives.

But the colony soon came to extremities. Homesickness, hunger and disease bore heavily upon them. With the few tools and the little skill at hand they

built a flimsy boat and risked it on the waters of the stormy Atlantic. Their voyage was terrific. The supplies gave out. Famine and sickness were upon them. One of their number was drawn by lot to save them from absolute starvation. So week after week they struggled on till an English bark hove down upon them, landed the feeblest on the French coast and carried the rest prisoners to Queen Elizabeth.

In 1564 another colony set out for the new lands. It was a mixed company made up of stern Huguenots and roving seamen. It was in command of a capable, and it was said "pious marine officer," Landonnière. But the lust for the fabled gold of Florida controlled them as it did others before them. They fled from persecution and went in the name of a religion they did not always exemplify. At first friendly with the Indians they soon were snared by their love of gold and became involved in the disputes and wars between Indian tribes.

And now a new peril appeared on the horizon. To the hostility of Indians was added the cruel enmity of Spain, for Philip the Second had heard heretics from France were settling in the new world and claiming it for Protestantism and France. He acted promptly and savagely, for while the little band in Fort Carolina was just beginning to feel a sense of security their startled eyes saw a fleet of Spanish caravels coming to anchor with Menendez, a monster of cruelty, in command. Then, on the new stage began the battle which had encrimsoned European fields. As Parkman says, "On the shores of Florida the Span-

iard and the Frenchman, the bigot and the Huguenot, met in the grapple of death." It is not necessary to our story to further follow the bloody tragedy.

Menendez, one of the ablest officers of the Spanish Marine, asked and readily obtained a commission to resist the French aggression in the new world and to have almost absolute power over Florida, which then included all North America from Labrador to Mexico. And ruthlessly he used it. He was to "convert Florida," for all of these cruel expeditions had a religious flavor. He was given three years in which to accomplish the task and no time was lost. When his fleet entered the St. Johns River it encountered the few ships of Ribault's command. A colloquy ensued. "Whence," inquired Menendez, "does this fleet come?" "From France." "Are you Catholic or Lutheran?" Many voices replied, "We are Lutheran of the new religion." And the answer came back, "I am Pedro Menendez, General of the fleet of Don Philip the Second, who have come to this country to hang and behead all Lutherans. . . . At daybreak I shall board your ships and if I find there any Catholic he shall be well treated, but every heretic shall die."

This threat was carried out on that day and in many following days with unexampled ferocity. Neither age nor sex was spared, peculiar forms of torture being added to signalize to all time the capacity of fanaticism for the extremes of cruelty. Ribault's little company was butchered, and while the blood of martyrs was yet dripping from the sword of the conquerors Menendez sent these pious words to his

lord on the Spanish throne, "Nevertheless the greatest profit of this victory is the triumph which our Lord has granted us, whereby His holy gospel will be introduced into this country—a thing so needful for saving so many souls from perdition." And in his journal this incarnate fiend writes, "We owe to God and His Mother more than to human strength this victory over the adversaries of the holy Catholic religion."

When the tidings of the atrocities of Menendez reached France, an example of splendid and unselfish heroism was given by a simple country gentleman, Dominique de Gourgues, who, not on religious but on purely patriotic ground, determined to avenge the insult given to France in the brutalities of Menendez. He sold his inheritance, raised further funds by borrowing from his relatives, equipped a little fleet of three small sailing vessels and with only a hundred soldiers on the twenty-second of August, 1567, set sail to lower the Spanish flag on the far-off Florida coast. It seemed like a hair-brained adventure. But on landing he secured the help of friendly Indians, surprised the Spaniards in their fort and put nearly all of them to the sword. Menendez was not there to receive the punishment he so richly deserved. He had returned to Spain and was receiving the honors of the Spanish court. Gourgues, as Menendez had done before him, baptized his bloody enterprises with the name of religion, breaking forth in a pæan of thanksgiving to God who had given him the victory.

Thus was avenged the honor of France but, though piously labeled, the enterprise which achieved it was

not an honor to the Huguenots and did nothing to further the founding of permanent colonies in this country. The combined hostility of Spaniards and Indians checked all attempts at colonization and gradually wore out the enthusiasm of Huguenots for a refuge in America. It was not in the councils of Providence that the stamp of American nationality should come from France. But we shall mistake if we think that French Protestants left no enduring marks on the national life. In scattered settlements from Maine to Florida they attested their loyalty to the faith and their love of liberty.

Let us now give an appreciation of the contributions the Huguenots have made to our national religious life. We have alluded to their abortive attempts at colonization in Florida and South Carolina and to the failures in Canada and, at one point, across the boundary into the territory of the United States. Their efforts at colonization were futile. Had they succeeded, the history of Canada and of the States might have been different.

Driven away from their own land by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it is estimated six hundred thousand of them fled to Switzerland, Germany, Holland and, later, to the United States. As early as 1679 Boston had establishments formed by refugees, and in 1686 the famous French colony at New Oxford, Massachusetts, had been founded. Thence a number of them moved to the beautiful valley of Deerfield, where so many suffered death in an onslaught of the Indians.

Massachusetts and other provinces were kind in

their welcome to the Huguenots. They recognized them as people who had fled from persecutions similar to those they had escaped, and in even severer forms.

In 1666 the Legislature of Maryland naturalized the French Protestants settled there, and in 1671 Virginia admitted them as citizens of that state. The Huguenots founded a settlement on the James River which, for a good while, was a flourishing colony. In 1701 the Legislatures of Massachusetts and New York passed laws condemning to perpetual imprisonment any Roman Catholic priest who should be found in the colony. This American legislation was in retaliation for the persecutions inflicted by the Catholic Church in France and elsewhere upon all the Protestants. In 1656 the Huguenots were numerous enough in various parts of the country to have public documents printed in French, as well as in English and Dutch. In New York City a Huguenot church was founded which still survives. The neighboring town of New Rochelle was founded very largely by Huguenot refugees. Pennsylvania gave refuge and welcome to many hundreds, but they were most numerous in North and South Carolina. Today it is probable that more than a million of our people trace their ancestry to the French Huguenots, and are proud of the blood.

In the War of the Revolution the French Huguenots were arrayed solidly, of course, on the side of the colonists. General Francis Marion, at the head of his brigade made up mostly of French Huguenots, astounded the country by his deeds of valor. It is a noticeable fact also that South Carolina was the first

state of the Union to adopt an independent constitution, largely under the leadership of Henry Laurens, a son of a Huguenot, who was the presiding officer at the convention. Their patriotism through the generations following has been glorious.

Pierre Baudain is immortalized in Bowdoin College, founded by his son. Richard Dana was a descendant of James Dana, a Huguenot. Paul Revere was a Frenchman whose celebrated ride is said to have been the most important exploit of the nation's annals. Another eminent Huguenot was Augustus Jay, whose grandson, John Jay, was Chief Justice of the United States and twice governor of the state of New York.

The scattered little French colonies thus alluded to were neither large enough nor strong enough to constitute an important element in the national life. But they brought certain qualities of temperament and character which were greatly needed. Their buoyancy and cheerfulness and lightness, if it can so be called, were greatly needed amid the Puritan severities of Massachusetts. Their love of the beautiful may somewhat have rounded off some of the corners of Puritan roughness. They, like the Puritans, had religious convictions, but they held them with a certain moderation in things not of vital importance that may have given some lessons to the sometimes persecuting temper of the people among whom they had settled. Their love of liberty was associated with tolerance, which they had learned in the school of suffering. Who shall say how far such characteristics may not have wrought in the forming communities of the new world?

Thus these exiles from Languedoc and Rochelle, of whom it was said they had the virtues of English Puritans without their bigotry, found a refuge from oppression and a temple for worship. Thus, long before the chivalric devotion of Lafayette, we were bound to the land of arts, romance and heroisms by the immigrants who, from the Penobscot to the Santee, avowed the simple faith they had received from Geneva and translated into martial valor on the fields of St. Denis and Orleans. Our Statue of Liberty in the New York Harbor shines east and west. There is in it a ray of French Protestantism which, east and west, has kept loyal faith with the kingship of God and the rights of man.

Lydia H. Sigourney, herself a Huguenot only by marriage, wrote concerning them these beautiful and appropriate words:

> "On all who bear
> Their name or lineage may their mantle rest,
> That firmness for the truth, that calm content,
> With simple pleasures, that unswerving trust
> In toil, adversity, and death which cast
> Such healthful leaven mid the elements
> That peopled the new world."

We turn now to another phase of the French occupation of America. That in Florida was in the interest of the Reformation in Europe. It was the attempt to secure in the new world a refuge and a home for French Protestantism. But now on the far northern shores of the continent, which centuries earlier had

been touched by French explorers or fishermen, an attempt of a far different kind was about to be made, —the purpose to extend the domain of the Papacy by the conversion of American Indians. It began in an ambition to dispute with Spain the possession of the continent. It was in its inception to be a battle between French and Spanish arms. Spain had acquired the indefinite latitudes of New Spain. But the aggression must be resisted.

The French king, Francis, was a vainglorious, weak and dissolute ruler. The perils to his kingdom at home might perhaps be compensated by achievements across the sea. He decided to send a strong expedition to America. For that purpose he found in Jacques Cartier a man fitted for so important a mission. That the expedition might have popular support it must appeal not only to French pride but also to its religion. Cartier sailed for the new world, therefore, under the double commission to plant the "lilies of France" on new soil and also to gain new triumph for the holy religion by the conversion of the infidels of the new world! So best could be checked the heresies of Luther and Calvin, which were beginning to shake Europe. Pope Alexander the Sixth had indeed by papal bull given all America to the Spaniards. But what was Pope or Spanish power when the prize was a route to Cathay, or limitless possessions on the way thither? Cartier, therefore, under this double commission sailed from St. Malo on the twentieth of April, 1534. He reached the St. Lawrence, lured a few savages on board his

caravels to be taken to France as visible evidence of his discovery and sailed back home.

But though hope of national gains in America seized the French imagination, more permanent results must be secured. So in May, 1535, Cartier, having enlisted a few gentlemen of fortune and courage to share in the hazards and the glory of his adventure, set sail again. This time he had better success. He ascended the St. Lawrence to the present site of Montreal, named by him "Mount Royal." After various friendly experiences with the Indians, and enduring the rigors of a Canadian winter, he again lured some natives on shipboard, keeping them to be shown in France as trophies of his voyage; planting a cross on the dark shores as the sign of a Christianity he had done nothing to advance, and spreading sail in July, 1536, he cast anchor again under the walls of St. Malo.

But though Francis was sore beset by enemies at home he resolved on one more endeavor to introduce Christianity to the new world. He determined to send Cartier again. A distinguished noble of Picardy, Sieur de Roberval, joined Cartier. And this was his commission: "We have resolved to send him again to the lands of Canada and Hochelaga, which form the extremity of Asia toward the West." The conversion of the Indians was declared to be the prime object of the enterprise, for were they not men without knowledge of God or use of reason? So this precious profligate, sinking to his grave under pressure of his sins, would atone for a life of tyranny and wickedness by a pious proclamation. The crew he ordered should

fill the ships was not calculated to give effect to his religious purpose. Here are some of the terms of the commission given to Cartier:

"Whereas, we have undertaken this voyage for the honor of God our Creator, desiring with all our heart to do that which shall be agreeable to Him, it is our will to perform a compassionate and meritorious work toward criminals and malefactors to the end that they may acknowledge the Creator and give thanks to Him and mend their lives; Therefore, we have resolved to be delivered to our aforesaid lieutenant (Roberval) such and so many of the aforesaid criminals and malefactors detained in our prisons as to him may seem useful and necessary to be carried to the aforesaid countries."

Cartier's third voyage accomplished nothing in the way of permanent settlements and, of course, with the character of the wretched people who accompanied him nothing of religious value was to be expected.

So ended the hypocritical endeavors of the persecuting Francis. Hunting heretics at home and converting savages abroad were alike unprofitable, and sinking to his dishonored grave he left Canada a pagan wilderness. A wilderness it remained for half a century. So far attempts to colonize Florida and Canada had been equally futile. But now a new stage was entered upon.

Samuel de Champlain, a Catholic of good family, was born at the small seaport of Brouage in the Bay of Biscay in 1567. Of a brave and adventurous nature, he shared the idea then blazing throughout

western Europe of exploring the mythical lands across the western sea. All sorts of stories were rife of the wonderful treasures to be found there and waters of magic power to confer the benison of everlasting youth. Champlain would see and bring report to his royal master. Two years were thus spent, and although his journeys extended as far as the City of Mexico no treasures were found, nor any sign of the fabled waters.

It is interesting to note, now that the Panama Canal is the successful achievement of the twentieth century, that its possibility was predicted by Champlain at the beginning of the seventeenth century. His journal describing that voyage has been found in Dieppe and recently has been acquired by a library in Providence, Rhode Island. In it he writes:

"One might judge if the territory four leagues in extent were cut through he could pass from the South Sea to that on the other side, and thus shorten the route by more than fifteen hundred leagues. From Panama to Magellan would constitute an island and from Panama to Newfoundland would constitute another, so that the whole of America would be in two islands."

This disappointing voyage only whetted the appetite of the intrepid mariner. But at this time a new patent to the new world was issued, and this time, strange to say, it was given to a Calvinist. Sieur de Monts was a man of sterling character and patriotic impulses. Henry the Fourth had come to the throne. A new

day seemed dawning for France. America might share in its glory. So the king gave to De Monts a patent, inclusive in extent and in character. It conferred the sovereignty of Acadia and its confines from what is now Philadelphia to beyond Montreal, and gave to the Governor a monopoly of the fur trade and exclusive control of the soil, government and trade and, above all, freedom of religion for Huguenot emigrants.

In this great enterprise De Monts joined with him the intrepid Champlain as the man best fitted to establish the new colony. And so together they set sail for the new world. It was a motley crew, as others before had been. Criminals and other outlaws and gentlemen of birth and breeding and, for the first time, Catholic priests going to plant the banner of the cross—these made up an incongruous and often quarrelsome company. To add to the incongruities of the voyage there were Huguenot ministers on board who transferred the quarrels of French towns to the narrow limits of the caravel decks. Of these quarrels Champlain wrote, "I have seen our curé and the minister fall to with their fists on questions of faith. I cannot say which had the more pluck or hit the harder. This was their way of settling points of controversy. I leave you to judge if it was a pleasant thing to see."

The ship thus freighted with heresy and orthodoxy after a perilous voyage of four months anchored at Port Royal and for the first time an organized effort was made to make good the purpose of Francis and convert the Indians. The mighty society of Jesuits

had arrived and the story of heroism, devotion and suffering begins. The young society had already invaded many lands, had sent adventurous missionaries to China and South America. It was now to claim the American continent for the Pope and the Order. It seemed like a ridiculous claim—a few hooded monks and friars on the desolate heights of Quebec, with a parchment from a French king, declaring the boundless American wilderness belonged to them and their successors. But how amazingly they wrought to make good that claim is the fascinating story of the next hundred and fifty years. Only the faintest outline can be given here.

It was in 1611 that the young King Louis XIII gave to the Jesuits all territory from the St. Lawrence to Florida. One stroke of the royal pen, by persuasion of a favorite of the king, Madame de Guercheville, made the young Order absolute proprietors of everything north of the Gulf of Mexico. But the conflict between the French and the handful of English, who a few years before had sailed up the James River, was soon on. With varying fortunes the petty battles kept on—now on land and again on sea. It was the struggle of despotism and freedom for the possession of a continent.

So went the march of explorers, traders and priests. They pushed up the great river, into and across the Great Lakes, down the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, out into the great Mississippi valley and claimed the whole region for Louis and the Pope. Under the lead of civilians like La Salle and Joliet, and missionary heroes

like Marquette, a line of military and missionary stations was to reach to the heart of America. Behind them was the power of France and of the Roman Church. These movements were guided by a statesman like Richelieu, by a pope like Gregory and carried out on the field by a consecrated purpose rarely equaled in the annals of sacred or secular heroism.

There was not much to oppose them. The Spanish empire in America was already crumbling. The day of its pageantry and glory passed as swiftly as it dawned. What else should stand in the way of the dream of France's ambition, a dream that preëmpted a continent and that would move to its occupation, one would say with an unhindered march? There was, to be sure, at the time Champlain flung out the French Lilies from the heights of Quebec, a little company of colonists at the mouth of the James River. But what of that? They were inharmonious among themselves and had no power behind them. They were a handful of adventurers to be swallowed up in the wilderness —even, as earlier, a handful of French Protestants had been swallowed up in the wilderness of Carolina. It was a dozen years yet before the little Pilgrim bark would breast the Atlantic storms, and if it came it would bring a handful of helpless refugees! What should impede the victorious arms of Louis XIV? As at the dawn of the sixteenth century a historical prophet would have said, "The new world will belong to Isabella and the Pope," so at the dawn of the seventeenth century the same prophet with a steadier emphasis would have declared, "The

new world will belong to Louis and the Pope." All the more surely would such a prophecy seem to hold when we remember it was a religious as well as a political crusade. As Bancroft said, "The religious zeal of the French bore the cross to the banks of the St. Mary and the confines of Lake Superior and looked wistfully toward the homes of the Sioux in the valley of the Mississippi five years before John Eliot had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston Harbor."

What hope was there for Protestantism in America when we consider that before the end of the seventeenth century the claims of France included not only the vast domain of Canada but half of Maine and Vermont, more than half of New York, the entire valley of the Mississippi, and Texas as far as the Rio Bravo del Norte? And these claims were asserted by actual and almost undisputed occupancy. But the historian judges by that which is seen. God has His invisible cohorts. They were now to come on the field of action. But what a straggling and apparently impotent band! In the sixteenth century a company of half-starved Huguenots fleeing persecution in France were flung on the coasts of Florida and Carolina. We have already alluded to their fate—butchered by Spanish soldiers or driven from the shores into the Atlantic again. Then in 1607, an English colony at Jamestown—not American but English—established the first permanent Protestant mission in America. In 1620 the "Mayflower" came into Plymouth Bay with her hundred great souls to found the colony

which should be the most eminent source of American history. But let us go on with the story.

In the course of the next century the French, fired by the ambition to drive out the English on the eastern coast and the Spanish on the southern, built a chain of rude forts from Quebec, along the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Thus urged on by the fiercest religious fanaticism they would envelop the other European settlements and drive them home or into the sea. There never was loftier courage or a more sacrificial spirit to accomplish a daring project than was displayed by Franciscans and Jesuits as generation after generation they pressed west and south. No obstacles were insurmountable, no savage enemies too formidable, no wilderness too impenetrable. The Jesuits not only had hostile savages to contend with, but also occasional heretics from France. Thus Emery de Caen, a zealous Protestant commander, not only daily assembled his Huguenot sailors for prayers, but compelled the Catholics to join them. Of course, there was rebellion. A compromise was effected. It was agreed that they might pray, but not sing. Champlain remarked, "It was a bad bargain, but we made the best of it we could."

The grants which had previously been made to the French colonies were extended and made perpetual by that greatest of French statesmen—that ruler of the weak king, Cardinal Richelieu. If hitherto Huguenots had been tolerated as tradesmen or sailors, they should be tolerated no longer. Only Catholics should be admitted. New France would crush all liberty of

thought. What if the toleration which characterized the English had been known in Canada? What if Protestants and Catholics had alike been welcomed? —who can tell how different had been the national boundaries? In that event Parkman says, "Canada would never have been a British province and the United States would have shared their vast domain with a vigorous population of self-governing Frenchmen."

And yet, while the attitude of the Jesuits toward all Protestants was what their history everywhere would suggest, they were on peaceful terms with the natives. The weapons of their conquest were not carnal. They would win the Indians by rare examples of love and devotion. They were ready to be martyrs for their faith.

That we may estimate the difficulties of the task undertaken, as well as the value of methods employed by the Jesuits, let us glance at the walls of superstition to be surmounted. Had the natives any religion on which Christianity might be grafted or any moral standards that would furnish a basis for the Christian appeal? Had the natives any idea of God which might be corrected and lifted, or any sense of sin on which the fulcrum of the Christian appeal might rest?

It is said no people is without a religion. Using the term broadly this familiar statement may be accepted. But many pagan tribes have ideas so vague and confused, and superstitions so gross and animalistic, that it is difficult to trace in them any semblance to what

we conceive to be religion. This is somewhat true of the religion of the American Indian. At his best he seems to have had some idea of a Great Spirit pervading nature and to which people are beholden for their blessings and responsible for their sins.

Dr. Francis Parkman, who has studied the Indian at first hand, calls this view of Indian theology "romance, poetry and rhetoric." However, in his introduction to "The Jesuits in North America" he traces Indian mythology upward from its grossest conceptions to something in the higher Indian development akin to what he had declared to be romance and poetry. The Indian's thinking follows slavishly the line of his daily life. He cannot rise to concepts which are visible in the life about him. So his theology (if such it may be called) is first animalistic. The beasts and birds are deified. To them—or the spirit that is in them—he looks for protection and guidance. The result is an incongruous mass of silly superstition, scarce to be dignified with the name of religion. The striking thing about these incoherent superstitions, in which almost everything is endowed with some sort of power, either malign or benevolent, is the fact that at least among some tribes—as, for example, the Hurons, among whom the principal Jesuit missions were carried on—a vague, but quite apparent, belief prevails that men are descended from the lower animals. Strange that foreshadowings of Darwinism should have been found among the untutored savages of the Canadian wilderness!

With all these superstitions about animals, this fear

of them as in some way having a life beyond what is seen, the Iroquois and Hurons—the two great tribes always at war with each other and whose perpetual conflicts put an end to Jesuit missions—had notions of supernatural existence, undefined and often contradictory, which had great influence over all people. Not only so, but they believed in guardian divinities who must be invoked and propitiated. Still feeling their way through the Cimmerian gloom that enveloped them, some of the tribes believed in a spirit above the animal spirits that were everywhere around them—some king of beasts who gave blessing or curses. They even held that tradition of a universal flood, current in so much mythology, and maintained that this Great Spirit restored the world that had been devastated by the flood. The absurd imaginings by which this was accomplished we need not follow. They are overlaid with a lot of nonsense. But the fact is significant, and we need not wholly sneer at the rude Pantheism which grossly covered all nature with divinities. Let us read in it rather the "feeling after God" which the Apostle recognizes as a witness of God's Spirit in the hearts of men.

By various symbols and acts of worship it is also apparent that the people, among whom the Jesuits labored, believed in the immortality of the soul. However, their darkened minds too much carried the employments and passions forward into a future existence, taking with them the animals and trappings of their earthly life, the striking fact remains: to their minds death did not end all. So radically has God

impressed the future life on all people He has created that it does not fail even among the lowest.

"According to some Algonquin traditions Heaven was a scene of endless festivity—the ghosts dancing to the sound of the rattle and the drum and greeting with hospitable welcome the occasional visitor from the living world, for the spirit land was not far off."

With such crude superstitions, such unmoral theology, the Jesuits had to contend. There was not much background there for the spiritual appeal. The missionary must build from the ground up. All he found to start with was a slavish fear of spirits and a dim foreshadowing of the future.

How did the Jesuits meet this condition?

While from our point of view the Jesuits' Christian approach to the Indians was with doctrines we consider unsound and with ceremonials often not unlike some of the superstitions they sought to supplant, yet a proper regard for the truth of history requires the admission that in many ways the missions were conducted with a simplicity, sincerity and fervor not unlike those of apostolic days. In the first place their approach was in a spirit of kindness and love, in startling contrast to the only other illustrations the natives had of Christian manners—those, namely, of scheming trader or ruthless soldier. They made themselves as brothers to those they sought to win. They were not like many ecclesiastics, not only of their order but of others that we count more orthodox who would hand down salvation with lordly superiority. On the contrary, they adapted their lives to the lives of those

about them. They lived on fare well-nigh as plain as that of the Indians and in huts not much better than the wigwams. They made themselves of no reputation if by all means they might win some.

They also proclaimed moral standards which, if not up to the Christian ethics of our day, were advanced for those times and far above what native converts could readily attain. Those who embraced the Faith were required to give up practices which for ages had been not only tolerated but accounted as part of their worship. Their games and feasts and dances must be put away. Their sorceries, on which they depended for the health of their bodies, must be given up. Their uncleanness must be renounced. No wonder conversion on such terms made slow headway. Such terms would somewhat chill evangelistic meetings of today. And yet they made conversions. Thus, in one of the Huron missions a thousand persons were baptized in one year, about one-quarter of these being infants. Of course, many of the converts relapsed to their old ways. Not even yet has the Christian Church escaped the necessity of seeing that many who put their hand to the plow not only look back but go back. As in these days, the Jesuit fathers found the chief obstacle in their way not an incapacity to understand, but an unwillingness to obey. The natural man is enmity against God, whether in a Huron wilderness or a Christian city.

This much in praise of the motives, spirit and labors of the Jesuits. When the fierce Iroquois, after a century of bloody warfare, had conquered the Hurons

and the Algonquins—had scattered these tribes, destroyed their villages and ruined their farms, nothing was left of the Jesuit missions. Here and there through the vast wilderness, reaching from Quebec to the Father of Waters, there is a ruined shrine or a broken crucifix to testify mutely that here once the call to repentance and faith sounded through the forest. But no Christian institutions and few Christian people were to be found. With all the heroic virtues of the Jesuits, what is the explanation of such complete Christian wreck and ruin?

Much, of course, may be laid to the down-pull of ignorance and sensuality entrenched in centuries of bad living amid degrading surroundings. But further explanation must be sought. Those Indians were intellectually superior to and morally no worse than savage African tribes among whom Christianity is firmly established in Christian institutions and exemplified in Christian lives. The great failure of Jesuit missions was in the lack of an ethical and doctrinal foundation. We have said they gave certain ethical requirements. But there was no vital doctrinal teaching to give a foundation for meeting those requirements. The doctrines were mainly ceremonial and ritual. The grasp of faith on a living Saviour and dependence on Him for daily conduct had small place in the priestly teachings. Observance of fasts and forms took the place of repentance and faith. There was little of that building of character on which moral stability depends. Men cannot easily be lifted from the depths of sin to purity of life and strength of char-

acter; nor can they be baptized into the Kingdom of Heaven. The time element in the development of fine living was largely discounted by the Jesuits. They must baptize, for on that Heaven depended, and then hurry on. And so they made footprints of swift and splendid heroism from the St. Lawrence to western prairies, but in not one tribe did they leave any Christian memorial that survived its generation.

When, therefore, the Iroquois swept their besom of destruction from the Lakes to the Bay of St. Lawrence the mission to the Hurons was lost in the wreckage. Even the antiquarian can find little to testify of the valor and self-sacrifice of monks and priests who shrank from no suffering and no labor to establish the Roman Catholic Church in the American wilderness.

And as we read subsequent history we can see it must be so. Even the bloodthirsty Iroquois had a mission in establishing freedom of thought and worship on these shores. The Romanism of Spain could not be allowed to dominate from Saint Augustine to Santa Fe. The Romanism of France could not stay that purpose of the Almighty which wafted the "Mayflower" to our shores. With the fall of Quebec on the Plains of Abraham the last hope of absolutism in government or religion disappeared from America. No religious foundations had been laid. The James River and Plymouth Bay were waiting the coming of the white sails that would bring freedom to worship God. The "Mayflower" was due.

IV

THE VIRGINIA COLONY

THIS subject suggests the chief factor in the formation of the American Republic. We are an Anglo-Saxon people and have an Anglo-Saxon heritage. Among Anglo-Saxons, therefore, we must look for the mainspring of the religious life which has shaped our nationality.

The efforts at early colonization followed two main lines—that which in 1606 began in Virginia and that which in 1620 began in Massachusetts. We will trace them separately—and first the history of what is called the Jamestown Colonization. To understand the significance of it we must go back to the events which preceded.

The name and fame of Queen Elizabeth are connected with the first dim vision of possible use of the American continent in the interest of the Crown. Antecedent to her reign the dreams of explorers were all connected with the prizes which might be carried from America to enrich the British government. The visions which Spanish explorers had of gold mines and mountains of gems and fountains of eternal youth were spread over Europe. There was little inquiry into the basis for the fables. That they were widely

circulated was enough. From the days of Ponce de Leon they inflamed the imagination not only of explorers but of governments always ready to acquire predatory wealth. Failure of expedition after expedition, carried on with extremes of hardship and suffering, did not quench the lust for treasure. The dream of a northwest passage to the wealth of the Indies added fuel to the flame. Almost any river or estuary on the Atlantic coast might be the entrance to this Eldorado.

The efforts to find the northwest passage would have been amusing if they had not been so tragic. Captain John Smith nearly lost his life looking for the Pacific in the swamps of the Chickahominy. Henry Hudson in the same pursuit stumbled into the Hudson River. Even as late as 1700 an intelligent explorer speaks hopefully of the proximity of the Pacific to North Carolina.

And so for a century and more the mad pursuit went on at the cost of many a daring life—at cost of a very gradual disenchantment. The dream of enriching Europe with treasures from America faded away. Adventurers and explorers must give place to people who should go to America to evoke there the treasures, not of imagination but of the soil. Hitherto explorations, whether under Spanish or French auspices, should glorify the Spanish or French Crown and in either case the throne of St. Peter.

These ends Queen Mary, by reason of her alliance with the Spanish Crown, heartily advanced. The English would emulate the Spanish successes across

the sea and find any gold that might have escaped the Spanish.

But now Elizabeth came to the throne, and a new chapter in the occupation of America is opened. Protestantism, which had long struggled for recognition, had the favor of the sovereign and became ascendant. The queen bent her great energies to the strengthening of her navy and its use across oceans to humble the Spanish flag. The commercial value of the banks of Newfoundland, long a source of French wealth, drew the eyes of England and scores of vessels annually sought their treasures. They had long enriched the markets of the continent. It was reserved for Sir Humphrey Gilbert to connect them with a plan for permanent American colonization. His influence at the court of Elizabeth was great. From her he obtained a patent to any American plantation he might establish within six years. His territory should extend beyond two hundred leagues of his settlements and in that colony his authority should be supreme.

In 1579 Gilbert, in company with his distinguished step-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, having gathered a goodly company of volunteers, set sail for the new world. The perils of the ocean were too much for the little vessels. Some were lost, and in one that weathered the storms Gilbert returned. But only to renew his endeavors. A second voyage was even more disastrous. After visiting Newfoundland and formally taking possession of the country in the name of the queen, he sailed south to find new lands along the southern coast. One of his vessels was wrecked on

the rocks, a hundred of his men perished and nothing seemed left but a return to England in a little bark of only ten tons. But one night the lights went suddenly out and the little frigate with all on board disappeared beneath the waves.

Sir Walter, so far from being dismayed by the disasters which overtook his brother, now secured a patent drawn with strict regard to the Christian faith as professed by the Church of England, and guaranteeing to Raleigh absolute proprietary rights. It was in 1584 that, with a goodly company of brave and resolute men, the great explorer set sail for America. Persuaded that the northern route was full of perils and ended in an inhospitable climate, Raleigh chose a southern route in pursuit of placid seas and a genial climate. He made no mistake. In July they landed on the shores of North Carolina, a land of beauty, of fruit and flowers, and in high hopes he took possession in the name of the Queen of England. After coasting as far as Albemarle Sound the voyagers, apparently content with what they had, and in haste to report their findings, returned to England. The stories they told of the glory of land and climate lost nothing in the telling. Elizabeth was charmed, and in her own honor named the new land "Virginia."

The effect of the stories of a genial climate and bounties of nature in the new world of course led to other expeditions. Colonization was now in the air. A larger company, again under command of Raleigh, sailed in seven vessels for the shores of North Carolina. After an eventful voyage, made more eventful

by their occasionally, after the piratical fashion of the times, supplying their larder from captured Spanish ships, they made safe anchor on the beautiful shore. Ralph Lane, who was to be governor of the new colony, thus describes the country: "It is the goodliest soil under the cope of Heaven; the most pleasing territory of the world; the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness and very well peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so wholesome that we have not one sick since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it."

But this expedition, begun with such promise, like others failed of its purpose. For a year they explored and wandered up and down the coast. They came to be on good terms with the Indians, reading and explaining the Bible and introducing them to such marvels of science as led the untutored savage to regard the newcomers as descended from the gods, or as men who, having once been mortal, had through death and a resurrection achieved immortality. It was not long, however, before feuds arose and the little company was in imminent danger of extinction. They averted that peril by uniting against the Indians, slaying the chief and his people under the guise of a friendly interview.

It is not necessary to follow the story of the failure of this venture for colonization. Though Sir Francis Drake suddenly appeared in the Roanoke Inlet with ample supplies which he generously offered to the dis-

couraged company, there was only one cure for their nostalgia and that was to go home. If the wanderings of these brave men for a year up and down the wilderness could be called a settlement, it ended the first actual endeavor to settle the new world.

But Raleigh was not the man to be easily turned aside. He had a vision not of exploitation but of permanent homes. He made another venture. This time families accompanied soldiers and sailors. Provision for cultivating the soil was not forgotten. But again disaster dogged the steps of the adventurous colony. It founded the "City of Raleigh," but ere long only a cemetery remained. Raleigh returned wasted in health, impoverished and heartbroken. A statesman, who in actual service accomplished little for the colonization of America, he advanced it immeasurably by his noble conceptions and even by his fruitless endeavors. King James imprisoned and executed one of the bravest and grandest of Englishmen. His country gave him little honor. America will not forget his intrepid efforts to open a new world for the hopes and longings of the old.

The first real charter for the occupation of Virginia was granted by King James. It was in his mind a commercial transaction. He saw the possible value of a prosperous colony across the sea. But he was also a strong churchman. He had had a Scottish training in Protestant doctrine. In his zeal for the Church of England, as separate from the Roman, he had himself proclaimed "the Defender of the Faith." When a company of men of business and of rank applied to

him for leave "to deduce a colony into Virginia" he set his seal to the patent primarily for commercial reasons, but not without a desire thus to extend the power of the Church. He hoped also that the Indians would thus be led to embrace Christianity as well as the arts of civilized life.

The charter thus granted was ample and liberal in the extreme. The grant was for twelve degrees on the coast reaching in length from Cape Fear to Halifax. But though the charter was extensive it was not a model for people seeking freedom. The king held absolute control of appointments and absolute legislative authority. All the people got out of the grant was a wilderness, the right to develop it and defend themselves if they could against savages. Against the supreme authority of the monarch there was no defense. There was no freedom of worship. The doctrines and ritual of the Church of England were rigidly enforced. No adherent of the Papacy was permitted entrance. Under such restrictions of the first charter of American colonization a little company of one hundred five emigrants set sail for "the dear strand of Virginia" December 19, 1606. This is almost the exact number that was crowded into the cabin of the "Mayflower." But how different in character and destiny! Of the Pilgrims we will speak later.

Of this first band of colonizers it is enough to say that he who should consider their character could readily predict their fate. Most of them were gentlemen adventurers. There were no men with families.

There were very few artisans, and none with any experience that would fit them to get a living out of the soil. The company showed how ill assorted it was even on shipboard. On land their troubles thickened. It could not be otherwise. Of them Captain Smith said, "A hundred good workmen were worth a thousand such gallants."

They established themselves on a malarial peninsula. Disease, hunger and hostility of Indians soon wrought their havoc. One of the company wrote: "There never were Englishmen left in any foreign country in such misery as we were in this new discovered Virginia." During the winter one-half of the colonists died. It looked as if extinction waited the entire band. And it would have but for the fact that at this time a leader came to his opportunity and to their rescue. That man was Captain John Smith. He was not the first choice of the Council which the king had named to govern the colonies. But after a bad experience with one Edward Wingfield the Council turned to Smith. He was a man of capacity, honesty and courage. He is best remembered by the romance which gathers about his name in connection with his condemnation to death by the chief, Powhatan, and the rescue of his life by the pleadings of Pocahontas, the daughter of the chief. Captain Smith's first charge was to remedy the shiftlessness and, so far as he could, the incapacity of the little company that had come over with him. Gold refiners, perfumers and footmen who had never laid hand to ax nor spade were, of course, ill fitted for the strenuous work on hand. There was

only one blacksmith in the colony, one bricklayer, one mason and four carpenters. But with such tools at his hand Smith, in his history, says, "Then falleth every man to worke; the Councell contrive the fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their tents, some provide clapboards to relade their ships, some make gardens, some nets." To protect them from the uncertain savages the settlement was inclosed with a palisade of tree trunks set with cannon.

Meantime, the people slept as they could—on the ground, in holes in the ground, under any extemporized protection. There was a chaplain in the company, for the king had not failed to make good his promise that every colony should be made to establish the Church of England in the wilderness. The Rev. Robert Hunt, formerly vicar in Kent, was chaplain to the expedition. He held service almost from the hour of landing. He had left a cathedral in the old world and his first pulpit in the new was a board nailed between two trees for a reading desk, and a rotten sail above it. There the first seed for English Christianity on the American continent was sown. Not long after a log cabin church was finished, "covered with rafts, sedge and dirt."

The fatuous dream of a route to China up some river on the American continent had not yet faded away from the English mind, and the London Company desired that the colonists should make an early endeavor to find that route. Very shortly after the settlement Captain Smith, with some twenty others, sailed up the James River for a hundred and fifty miles

till they came to a waterfall that stopped their further going. They were as ignorant of a route to China as when they started. They did not return to camp at Jamestown a day too soon. Their worthless pioneers had rebelled against their fate, had quarreled with each other, one colonist had been killed and some two hundred savages had made an effort by attacking the half-built fort, to exterminate the rest. Only half the company were left.

Another consignment of colonists arrived in a few days with one hundred twenty men. They were much the same as the earlier sort and added little to the strength of the settlement. Under Smith's strenuous régime they were, however, persuaded or forced to make some rude efforts at cultivating the soil. As Smith said: "They digged and planted with maize some thirty acres, though not without murmuring."

In 1609 a new charter was granted by King James with more liberal provisions—the colony to extend across the continent from two hundred miles northward to two hundred miles southward to Point Comfort, including all the islands within a hundred miles of both coasts. The very day the charter was granted a large fleet was ready to sail with women and children as well as men. In the fall of that year Captain Smith found it necessary to return for the relief of a wound he had received in his hand.

The colony was now reduced to about sixty. They were ragged, starved, half-crazed men, women and children. One can imagine the enthusiasm with which a sail was now greeted down the river. It was Lord

De La Warr, bringing supplies for the colonists. The next morning was Sunday. The haggard remnant drew up on the shore to receive the visitors who had come just in time to save them from starvation. The new governor knelt with them there. "Never," says "The Chronicler," "had poor people more cause to thank and praise the Lord for His infinite goodness and cast themselves on His very footstool."

De La Warr had come with absolute authority and under his régime every morning the church bells rang for early service and attendance was compulsory. They murmured and threatened to rebel, but they had to fall into line. After prayers the work of the day was taken up. The governor endeavored to make up somewhat for the surroundings which would make a stately service possible by appearing on Sundays and Thursdays in his robes ahead of his entire Council with a "guard of fifty halberd bearers in red cloaks marching behind."

But they had a church. Progress had been made from the days of Robert Hunt. It was a log cabin sixty feet long and twenty-four feet wide and surmounted with two bells that called the worshipers to its service. After the fashion of the time a high pulpit adorned one end of the little structure, up the narrow stairs of which Mr. Bucke, the chaplain, climbed to preach his sermon. The governor decorated the church with flowers. He sat in the choir on a green velvet chair and knelt on a velvet cushion. A stately procession closed the service, accompanying the governor to the door of his humble cabin.

De La Warr's régime was one of brief prosperity. He had won over the Powhatans, who had been hostile, till they were generous friends. Stations were opened at Point Comfort, Fort Henry and Fort Charles for the protection of the colonists. De La Warr soon was forced by illness to hasten back to Europe, when Sir Thomas Dale, the famous military commander, took his place. By his military discipline, his good sense and his piety he rescued the colonists from the downward course of idleness and wickedness which had followed the retiring of Lord De La Warr.

Better times were coming now. The settlement began to take on the appearance of permanence and of some modest comfort. Better houses were built and, as it was said, "Three men did more work under the new rule than twenty did under the old."

The first school of which there is any record in Virginia was opened by a Puritan clergyman, the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, who, though a Puritan, still retained a nominal connection with the Church of England. His devotion won for him the name of the "Apostle of Virginia."

At this time, Pocahontas again comes on the scene. The colony was in straits for food when one Samuel Argal took the "dear and blessed Pocahontas" on board his vessel and surrendered her to Dale who, keeping her in Jamestown, treated her as a princess while he notified Chief Powhatan that he might buy the ransom of his daughter in corn. The old chief refused to engage in the barter. Pocahontas in turn was offended, and said as her father refused to buy

her liberty with corn she would marry John Rolfe, the honest and discreet widower, "who early heard a voice crying in his heart that he should strive to make her a Christian." In April, 1614, under the name of Lady Rebecca she was baptized and soon after married to Mr. Rolfe. The rest of the story is told in a sentence.

The Lady Rebecca with her husband went to England, was entertained at court as if she had been the daughter of an emperor and, starting on her return to Virginia, she died. Their only son, Thomas Rolfe, left distinguished descendants, some of whom have held high office in the United States.

From 1614 to 1619 the colonists made less progress. The latter year is memorable as the time when, in the Jamestown Church, the first legislative body in America was assembled, consisting of twenty-two members from the cities and the large plantations. The first step taken by this historic congress was an acknowledgment that the colony was under the Church and law of England. Some foreshadowing of women's rights appears in one of the acts of the congress which declared that land should be granted to men and their wives, "because in a new plantation it is not known whether men or women be most necessary."

The moral progress that had been made since the landing of the helpless and reckless little company of one hundred five is indicated in the fact that they were declared to be an honest, church-going, frugal and self-reliant community. The sale of liquor and firearms to the natives was forbidden and unfair

dealing toward them was discouraged, while religious schools especially for Indian boys were recommended in all the settlements.

The adoption of this constitution, if such it may be called, had a marked effect on the feeling of security and permanence which took possession of all the settlers.

But now came the beginning of what for many generations proved the curse of the American Republic. African slavers seized the opportunity to find a market among Virginia colonists.

The introduction of slavery so profoundly affected the early and later history of the United States, and so entered into the religious history, that it is worthy of more than a paragraph. The enslaving of men is as old as history. The Christian religion, arrayed against it in all its principles, should centuries gone have destroyed it. That it has lingered till recent years, that it stained early colonial history with its horrors, is proof of the power which avarice has on peoples and governments. For it is to mercantile avarice that its introduction and continued existence among Christian nations is due.

Sir John Hawkins first interested England in the slave trade and even induced Elizabeth to share in its profits.

Slavery grew out of the early practice of sending servants to the colony to work out their freedom in a course of years. It was in fact a system of temporary slavery. That it should in any case imply perpetual bondage was never admitted. But the ger-

minal idea of such bondage was in it. If a man might be a slave for ten years, why not for thirty—for fifty —for life? With the Virginia mind thus gradually habituated to the idea of involuntary servitude, the landing of Negroes for sale for perpetual bondage did not bring with it the sharp shock which the Massachusetts conscience encountered in 1645.

It was in 1619, a year before the Pilgrims landed —only a few days after the first representative assembly met in Virginia—that a Dutch man-of-war entered the James River with twenty Negroes for sale. This was the beginning of an evil which a little over two centuries later rocked the republic to its foundations. It was of slow growth in Virginia. Bancroft says that after seventy years the number of slaves was proportionately much less than in several northern states at the time of the War of Independence.

It grew slowly, but it grew and spread. In 1637 it entered Massachusetts in an importation of slaves from Providence Isle. In 1645 one James Smith, an orthodox member of the Boston Church, with one Thomas Keyser, sailed for Guinea with the avowed purpose of trading in slaves. There on the Lord's Day they, in friendly guise, invited many Negroes on board their vessel. They at once made them prisoners and, landing in the town, burned it and killed some and enslaved others of its people. When the cargo came to Massachusetts and the good people learned of the crime of the men who kidnapped the Negroes, there was universal horror. The criminals escaped the punishment due them on the thin technicality that the

crimes were committed in a foreign country. But the next year the elders of the Church, expressing their indignation in view of the disgrace thus brought on the colony, ordered the Negroes returned to their own country with a letter expressive of the popular indignation.

It has been claimed that slavery disappeared from New England only because it was unprofitable. Doubtless it was unprofitable, and for that matter is always and in the long run everywhere. But the radical reason why slavery could not live in New England was because it was hostile to every principle of the Pilgrims—a violation of that doctrine of human rights for which they had dared the unknown Atlantic and the unknown wilderness. It is probable economic conditions united with a Puritan conscience in banishing it from New England.

But in the South conscience had a harder time because economic and climatic conditions sided with slavery. So the upas tree spread its poison, closed the eyes of statesmen and ministers and wrought its steady havoc in church and state.

And its influence ran deep into the social structure. Whatever distinguishes the social ideals and life of Massachusetts from Virginia (and the distinction is easily marked, running into many phases of family and community life) is directly traceable to the democratic pattern of social life on the one side and the patriarchal pattern on the other.

In accord with our purpose to trace as far as we may be able the religious foundations of America, and

the European people and influences which shaped and laid their stones, it will be well now to indicate the form of the Christian faith which came with the colonists to Virginia and the steps and form of its gradual development. As with the Spanish and the French, the missionary impulse in England was a prominent factor in colonization. The Indian captives brought to the mother country on the ships of explorers and early settlers gave the English Church a new vision of a whole population living beyond the pale of Christendom. "Native slaves of the devil" they were denominated in one of the early papers from the colony.

In addition to the pure desire to win converts to Christianity as proposed by the Church of England, there was the more worldly ambition that Spanish and French priests should not be the only ones who should be extending the influence of the Church in the new world. The consecration and heroic labors of Jesuits in the northern and western wilderness fired the English Church with the purpose to take away from her the reproach that she was not converting infidels. In what degrees missionary fervors and ecclesiastical ambition mingled in the early history of Virginia colonization, it is not important to inquire. It is sufficient here to say that in the first charter of the South Virginia Company, drawn up in 1606, it was appointed that they should hold full power of government according to the law and the Church of England. In line with this purpose, before the little colony had yet made for themselves comfortable homes, a little church was erected, the black walnut communion

table was spread and the baptismal font was hollowed from the trunk of a tree.

The romantic conversion of Pocahontas was heralded in England as the first fruits of their missionary zeal. While it may be difficult to distinguish accurately between the fact and fable in various stories connected with the captivity, liberation, conversion and marriage of Pocahontas, there is little doubt of the main facts. When John Rolfe proposed marriage to the savior of Captain Smith the young princess entered on a course of instruction culminating in her conversion when she "openly renounced her country's idolatry, professed the faith of Jesus Christ and was baptized."

The Episcopal Church was founded in Virginia and at first was subject, as were all parts of the infant commonwealth, to the military power; and, while conformity to its tenets was not strictly enforced, a court martial had authority to punish indifference with stripes, and infidelity with death. The Church thus established by royal authority was later still further strengthened by the act of the first legislative body in America, which met in the Jamestown church July 30, 1619. One of the first provisions of that legislation was that the colony should be recognized as under the Church and the common law of England. Stringent regulations protecting the Sabbath and the support of the ministry were passed. Even then preliminary measures were adopted for the erecting of a university and college. Of the children of Indians "the most towardly boys in wit and graces of nature should be

brought up in the first elements of literature and sent from the college to the work of conversion" of the natives to the Christian religion.

As we have said, the laws of conformity were not rigidly enforced, yet when Puritans from New England began to come into the northern section of Virginia the assembly in 1631 passed a law that the inhabitants must conform "both in canons and constitution to the Church of England as near as may be."

When Governor Berkeley came to his own in Virginia the independents had a hard time. Fine and imprisonment followed on their fidelity and four thousand of them refusing to conform to the Church of England were driven from the colony. They found a refuge in the more liberal atmosphere of Maryland. In England, the rise of Puritanism had brought on a revolution which dethroned Charles the First and put the Lord Protector in his place. But these majestic movements had little effect on the far-away colony. Indeed, so loyal to the Crown were the burgesses in Virginia that when the news of the beheading of Charles came to them they passed resolutions on the murder of the "late, most excellent, now undoubtedly sainted king." And Charles the Second was invited to Virginia to find a "refuge in his majesty's ancient and most loyal dominion." On his return from exile and his assumption of his father's throne, the Church of England was more firmly established in Virginia under the patronage of the royal governor and all "plebeian sects" banished.

How far the Virginians were from any sympathy with the tolerant principles that ruled around Massachusetts Bay is evidenced by the treatment accorded to Puritans who, from 1630 on, had become settlers in Virginia.

Indeed, as early as 1611, Puritans had entered the colony. Rev. Alexander Whitaker, the famous "Apostle of Virginia," was a staunch Puritan though a clergyman of the Church of England. He urged in letters to Puritans in England that non-conformist clergymen should come over to Virginia "where no question would be raised on the subject of subscription and the surplice." His ministry he describes in a letter to a friend, "Every Sabbath day we preach in the forenoon and catechise in the afternoon. Every Saturday at night I exercise in Sir Thomas Dale's house."

But gradually, and probably under the influence of Archbishop Laud, restrictions were placed on the freedom of worship. Thus in 1641 an appeal from some Puritan settlers asked that more ministers be sent to them. The following year three ministers sailed from Boston, and after stormy experiences anchored in the James River. They were well recommended by Governor Winthrop to the Governor of Virginia. Unfortunately, that happened to be the famous Governor Brewster who had just arrived from England. Fired doubtless by the recent influence of Laud, the Governor gave the Puritan preachers anything but welcome. The next meeting of the assembly passed the following act:

"For the preservation of the purity of doctrine and unity of the Church, it is enacted that all ministers whatsoever, which shall reside in the colony, are to be conformed to the orders and constitution of the Church of England, and not otherwise to be admitted to teach or preach publicly or privately, and that the Governor and Council do take care that all non-conformists, upon notice of them, shall be compelled to depart the colony with all convenience."

Thus armed, the Governor soon sent the Boston preachers home, though one of them, the Rev. William Thompson, remained long enough to convert a certain Daniel Gookin whom he took with him to Massachusetts and made superintendent of Indian schools. About this time, in a sudden uprising of the Indians, three hundred settlers were put to death. The Episcopal party counted this as a judgment of Providence for harboring Puritans. Singularly enough the Rev. Thomas Harrison, Berkeley's bigoted chaplain, saw the finger of God in the massacre as a judgment for the persecution of Puritans. He so told the Governor who forthwith sent him away. This was too much for Harrison. It made a Puritan of him, defying the Governor as long as he remained in Virginia.

But for a long time the rigorous Toryism of governor after governor prevailed. Bigotry and tyranny had full sway, repressing everything but the services of the English Church. This is illustrated in a report of Governor Berkeley, the subtle tool of the Stuart dynasty in England, in which under date of 1671 he says, "There are forty-eight parishes and

the ministers well paid. The clergy by my consent would be better if they would pray oftener and preach less. But of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us. But I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have, these hundred years." The estate to which Christian life in this first colony in Virginia had descended before the beginning of the eighteenth century is illustrated in a statement of Spotswood, the best of the royal governors, when he said, "This government is in perfect peace and tranquillity, under a due obedience to the royal authority and a gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England." Changes were to come with the opening of the eighteenth century which would introduce new elements into the population of Virginia and give the commonwealth a slightly different type of life than that implied in a "gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England."

With the increase of liberty in England, as represented by the Commonwealth, a more liberal spirit began to pervade the Virginia colony. The people had more independence of government, their internal affairs were managed much as if there had been no government across the sea to which they held allegiance, and, by the same steps of increasing freedom, religious toleration was advanced. Every parish made its own regulations and conducted its own affairs. Religious liberty came near being complete. There was only one exception to toleration. The unoffending Quakers were put under the ban. They were banished from the colony,—their return to be considered a

felony. Verily, religious liberty had a hard road to travel!

It was a time, however, when the ministry was highly regarded, as witness the following act passed by the first American legislature: "Noe man shall disparage a mynister whereby the myndes of his parishoners may be alienated from him and his mynistrie prove less effectuall, upon payne of severe censure of the governor and councell."

On the other hand, ministers were warned to behave themselves, in terms which create an unfavorable suspicion concerning the clergy of that day. Thus, "Mynisters shall not give themselves to excesse in drinking or ryott, spending their tyme idelie by day or by night playing at dice, cards, or any other unlawful game, but at all tymes convenient they shall heare or reade somewhat of the holy scriptures, or shall occupie themselves with some other honest studies or exercise, alwayes doinge the things which shall apperteyne to honestie and endeavour to profitt the church of God, having alwayes in mind that they ought to excell all others in puritie of life, should be examples to the people, to live well and christianlie."

About 1690 the Rev. James Blair was sent out by the Bishop of London to be practically the head of the Church in Virginia and such he was for the next fifty years. He was a man with a far vision. Moved by the state of the ministry at that time, when ministers were appointed as pastors less on their merits than to give them something to do, or perhaps to furnish black sheep with a refuge from English law,

he perceived that the root of the trouble was a lack of education, and he made an effort to provide a college which would educate Indian and white children for the Church.

Attorney-General Seymour had little sympathy with such benevolent purpose and said, in answer to his plea for the souls of the Indians, "Damn your souls; grow tobacco." But as the result of Blair's visit to England the College of William and Mary was chartered in 1692. This was the first college in the colony to educate young men for the established Church, and was the second "university" in America—Harvard having been opened more than fifty years before.

With the opening of the eighteenth century there was more toleration and people of other forms of faith began to appear, though Virginia, even to the Revolution, regarded herself as the special guardian in America of the rights and standing of the Church of England.

But other denominations increased in numbers and influence. Thirteen thousand German Palatinates from the Rhine came to the northern part of Virginia and settled on the Rapidan River. A company of French Huguenots settled at Manakin on the upper James; Dutch Lutherans and Scotch-Irish Puritans came down from New York and Pennsylvania. Blair, with a large and tolerant vision, secured of the assembly an act of toleration.

Thus was the young state enriched, and by the broadening of her religious life fitted for that leadership in statesmanship which has long been her pride.

If Virginia was long content to be a dependency of the British Crown, when the time was ripe she may be said to have been first in her declaration of independence. For it is recorded that on June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, moved in Congress " that these united colonies are and ought to be free and independent states, and that all political connection between them and Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." Here was material for Thomas Jefferson in drafting for July Fourth the immortal Declaration.

A still further precursor of that Declaration also came from Virginia, for on June 29 George Mason drafted the Constitution of Virginia, which declared " the commonwealth of Virginia an independent sovereignty, entitled to receive the absolute allegiance of her citizens, and prepared to defend her claim with the sword."

We come now to speak of the founding of Maryland. Lord Baltimore had been given by Charles the First a grant of Newfoundland. But after one winter's experience he wrote the king his opinion of a land where " from the middle of October to the middle of May there is a sad fare of winter upon all this land." His family was sick and he was discouraged and begged permission to seek a softer climate in Virginia. Before the king had a chance to answer Lord Baltimore took wife and children and sailed for the James River. His welcome was far from cordial. He was a Papist, and did not Virginia hate the Papacy with a bitter hatred? It would not do to give him a foothold. There was a way to throw on him the

odium of his departure. Governor Pott affected to give him welcome, but asked him to take the customary oath, which was a sworn recognition of the English sovereign as the only supreme authority throughout the British dominions in all matters ecclesiastical and spiritual. Of course Lord Baltimore could not take such an oath.

He went back to England and petitioned the king for a grant of land near Virginia. At this time the Dutch and French were crowding in between Pennsylvania and Virginia. It were well to put up a bulwark against them. What better than a grant of land to a Roman Catholic governor? So in 1632 Maryland was given and Baltimore took possession in the name of the king. Himself a devout Roman Catholic he evinced the nobility of his character by proclaiming a statute that Christianity as professed by the Church of England should be protected and all religious affairs should be settled by the colony.

Of this man, broad enough to sow the seeds of popular liberty in the soil of the new world, it has been said "that being a Papist he wanted not charity toward Protestants." He died before the patent for his charter was issued and the rights and emoluments of it passed to his son. Cecil Calvert, with his two brothers, conducted a colonizing project and sent a well-provided company of two or three hundred men and a few Jesuit missionaries to his new possessions.

On reaching the land of their longings one of their first acts was the recognition of that form of Christianity they had come to advance. For the first time,

at least in that part of the new world, the sacrament of the mass was celebrated. Then taking upon their shoulders a cross hewn from a tree, Catholic and Protestant in procession proceeding to a designated spot erected it as trophy to Christ, the Savior, and as a sign of the spiritual occupancy of the country.

From that time forth, not more by the noble spirit of the Governor than by the general consent of the immigrants, religious toleration was the rule for the province. No person professing to believe in Christ was to be molested on account of his religion. Both Catholics and Protestants found in Maryland a refuge from whatever persecutions they might elsewhere have suffered. In striking contrast with the statutes and practices of the neighboring colony of Virginia, Maryland would welcome all men of whatever faith who would help to build up its institutions and further its progress. The Catholic proprietary even invited the Puritans of Massachusetts to come to Maryland, offering them land and privileges and "the free liberty of religion." Such modern doctrine in the seventeenth century was indeed remarkable.

In 1648 Lord Baltimore removed the Catholic governor, Thomas Greene, to appease the parliament and in his place appointed William Stone, a Protestant of the Church of England. For his own protection and that of his people he bound the Governor by solemn oath not to molest any person believing in Christ and particularly no Roman Catholic should be denied the free exercise of his chosen religion. In addition,

at the instance of Lord Baltimore, the Protestant governor and his council of six, composed equally of Protestants and Catholics, and the representatives of the people of Maryland, of whom five were Catholic, at a general session of the assembly in April, 1649, passed the following act for religious freedom:

"And whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it has been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be in any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof."

Though Cecil Calvert so far as appears, never himself saw the new world, he is yet to be regarded as the founder of the colony and one of the first proponents of religious liberty in America. It required much prudence as well as sagacity to advance such liberty without encountering fatal opposition. An open avowal that Maryland was to be a special asylum for persecuted Romanists would have met a storm of protest, perhaps less from the Stuart king than from the people among whom Reformation principles were being strongly established. The charter, therefore, was somewhat vague, making no mention of either Protestant or Catholic, but giving liberty to all to advance the religion of Christ and to found chapels and churches to be consecrated according to the eccle-

siastical laws of England. The powers thus granted protected Catholics from oppressing Protestants and Protestants from persecuting Catholics.

So religious liberty came to pass in Maryland—following thus the example set by Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. Toleration on the basis of a somewhat indefinite charter thus continued the rule, and under it Maryland prospered until 1649 when Lord Baltimore drew up a more definite statute, which was adopted by the assembly as it came from his hand. This "Toleration Act," while not up to the standards of the twentieth century in that it visits infidels with death and those who utter "reproachful words" about the Virgin Mary or the holy apostles with a fine, nevertheless in its closing section, as elsewhere quoted, it speaks one of the first words heard in America for freedom of conscience.

The preceding review plainly indicates the effect of colonial development in Virginia and Maryland on the religious life of our country. The Virginian contribution was that of reformation doctrine and orderly and dignified worship according to the canons of the Church of England. The ecclesiastical law of England was not well adapted to transplantation, but certain great truths for which that law stood must be the life of the Republic if it should advance on the lines on which it started. It is true the Church of England in its American enterprise was not markedly a missionary church. Though it gave some attention to educational and spiritual needs of Indian tribes, that was not its chief mission. It came to conserve the doctrines and

worship of the Reformation as understood and applied by ecclesiastical law.

And it had great value. It brought to our country a body of scholarly and devout ministers who were a moral and religious tonic to the forming communities and who founded institutions which told mightily on the progress of Christian education and civic uplift. Within its fold were nurtured some of our most eminent statesmen and by its conservative influence were we protected from vagaries of doctrine and life which sometimes had a repressing effect on the religious development of the other colonies.

The message of religion in colonial Maryland has already been given. That it was not always consistent, that it mingled liberty in certain ways with fearful restrictions in other ways—granting freedom of worship while retaining a death penalty for infidelity—is only to say that the seventeenth century was no more free from the trammels of an age-long spirit of persecution than were the monarchies of the old world at the same time.

Liberty is a matter of growth on these as on other shores. But the light that shone for it from the struggling settlements on the Chesapeake will never go out from the pages of American history.

V

PILGRIMS AND PURITANS

ON November ninth, 1620, the "Mayflower" cast anchor in the harbor of Cape Cod. One hundred two people all told entered into a solemn compact in the cabin of that vessel and agreed as follows: "In the name of God, amen! We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign, King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices from time to time as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

The coming of that handful of Pilgrims to the stormy New England coast was the mightiest factor in the founding of Christian institutions in the new world. We have traced the course and influence of the Virginia

colony. We turn now to tell the story of the "one hundred great souls" who had courage and faith enough to flee from oppression, though, like Abraham, they went to a land they knew not of and to encounter trials which they could not measure.

To explain the arrival of the Pilgrims and understand its meaning, it is necessary that we should trace the historic steps that led to the migration. The tree of liberty thus planted had long roots, reaching back into centuries of struggle for the rights of man.

A straight historic line reaches from Cape Cod to Wittenberg and Geneva. "Justification by faith alone" looked like a harmless word, but it overturned ecclesiasticism. Calvin demanded spiritual worship and the rights of the people. Thus Luther and Calvin let loose the two great principles—man's true relation to God and men's relation to each other—which were destined to reform the world after the pattern of Christian democracy.

Henry the Eighth was the first to encounter these doctrines in their full force. He broke with Papacy, but only that he might be the Pope. He also denounced the Presbyterians, a rapidly rising sect, who would not accept his doctrine. Wholeheartedly neither the one nor the other, he was between both fires. The Pope excommunicated him. The Presbyterians defied him. The doctrines of Wyclif were finding their way into the hearts of the common people, and free Englishmen refused submission to the king's persecuting edicts. But Henry died as he had lived—by conviction a Cath-

olic, a Protestant by prudence. And Catholic forms of worship were still the rule of the realm when the boy, Edward the Sixth, came to the throne.

By this time Europe was agitated by the reform movement. Specially among the French, whence the young reformer, Calvin, had come, and among the Swiss, with whom he made his home, were the new doctrines taking deep root. They also had ever-increasing effect in England. The Protestant party was in the majority. Cranmer, on the urgency of Calvin, prepared an evangelical creed which the common people gladly accepted. The progress of the Reformation was somewhat stayed by the lack of competent preachers. Had the reign of the pious young king lasted, doubtless a different history would have been written for the kingdom. But his early death opened the door for Mary, a bigoted Catholic by her training and by her alliance with the Spanish throne. The fires of persecution were lighted and soon were burning fiercely.

The Puritans, as those were now called who avowed the new doctrines and ways, made no compromise of their faith. They accepted the penalty of holding it, and went to flames often in an exaltation of spirit that lifted them above the fury of the fire kindled to destroy them. But God often makes the wrath of man to praise him. It was manifest at this time. The persecutions drove many of the Puritans to find refuge in Germany and Switzerland. So they came under the direct influence of the great reformers. They caught the spirit of the Reformation more fully and were more thoroughly grounded in those doctrines which were to

destroy superstition and bring in the new day of Christian liberty.

There were two parties in the Puritan uprising in England: those who, loath to leave the established Church, would hold to its ritual and ceremonies, while yet claiming some of the freedom of conscience for which the reform stood, and those who would cut loose entirely from the Church and its ritual and adopt an independent and democratic form of Church government. Those who were of the conservative party, seeking a middle ground between ecclesiasticism and reformation, for the most part fled to Zurich and Strasburg. The radical Puritans went to Geneva and Frankfort. Some of them became close personal friends of Calvin. On the return of both these wings—after the accession of Elizabeth had made safe their return—the influence of their continental surroundings and experience became apparent. The conservatives from Strasburg would hold to the established Church and do within it what they could to improve it. Those from Frankfort and Geneva, who had learned from Calvin more directly, were prepared to abandon the Church and set up ordinances and institutions which should approximate the republican simplicity they had learned among the Swiss.

Even these, however, divided into two camps: those, namely, who would model church life on principles of representative government and those who tended to congregational independence in church government. Thus the lessons learned in Germany and Switzerland were about to shape the thought and life of the Church

of England and ultimately to reach across the Atlantic and determine there the action of three forms of church government—Prelacy, Presbyterianism and Congregationalism.

On the death of Mary, in November, 1558, the Puritans began their return from the continent. They had learned much during their exile, and, returning, were determined on radical methods of reform. Great hopes were entertained on the accession of Elizabeth. She promised to do as her father had done. Puritans soon learned this was an elusive promise, for Henry the Eighth one day leaned one way and the next day another. So the queen, at heart a Catholic in everything but relations to Rome, was on occasion a Protestant in conduct. Her reign was one of signal value to England, but of doubtful value to reform. She saw in Romanism a friend to monarchy; in Protestantism a friend to a growing tendency to popular rights in government. But even she could not resist the popular movement. She did not love the Thirty-nine Articles which the Anglican clergy and the House of Commons forced upon the clergy. She dared not defy the will of the Church thus expressed. That will established the Reformation by declaring that "justification is by faith, that Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, and that transubstantiation is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture."

But the spirit of reform, now thoroughly aroused, would not be satisfied with a "gentlemanly conformity" to even a reformed Church of England. So far, the Reformation had been chiefly a concern of the

nobility and the clergy. It was a matter of high debate in convocations and Parliaments. But now it filtered down to the common people. Among them it tended to be more radical. In humble homes throughout the realm the preaching of the martyrs was taking effect. A plain, direct gospel founded not on the decisions of councils but on the Word of God they could understand, and this they therefore demanded.

The party of independents grew—those who held the personal experience of religion as above all human authority. The Church took alarm as the new doctrines thus descended into the lives of the people. The division among the Puritans now became sharper. The majority still clung to the hope of all timid reformers, that it were better to abide and hope than to give up the hope and move out. But the minority were daring and uncompromising. In vain did Elizabeth try prisons and fagots. Her special wrath was directed against "Brownists." Separatists were scornfully so designated, though they owed their origin not to the erratic Robert Browne, but to the increasing light that shone in so many humble homes where the Bible was secretly studied. In the words of one of their own writers, they were people who "met together to sing a psalm and to talk of God's Word."

In November, 1592, the spirit of revolt against the existing order had so grown throughout the kingdom that the Separatists were both numerous enough and brave enough to address a petition to the queen begging permission to emigrate to Canada, there, as they said, "remaining to be accounted her majesty's loving and

faithful subjects, to whom we owe all duty and obedience in the Lord, promising hereby and taking God to record that wheresoever we become we will, by the grace of God, live and die faithful to her highness and this land of our nativity." The petition was disregarded. They should be permitted neither to go away nor to live at peace at home. Lord Bacon expressed the common opinion when of them he said: "A small number of very silly and base people here and there in corners dispersed; they are now, thanks to God, by the good remedies that have been used, suppressed and worn out."

But now Queen Elizabeth followed the way of kings and queens and, full of years and honors, passed away. James the Sixth of Scotland (James the First of England) came to the throne, and the Puritans were full of hopes. Was he not a Presbyterian? Had he not been reared in the atmosphere of the kirk of Scotland? Had he not praised that kirk as "the sincerest in the world"? So, with high expectations, they welcomed him. Those expectations soon were blasted. Weak, vain, truculent, and ambitious, he brought no strength to any cause with which he chose to ally himself. He recognized Episcopacy, in answer to a petition, but he asked for certain reformations which he conceived the condition of the kingdom required. At once the high-church party took alarm and demanded that they be heard in defense of their ecclesiastical status and rights.

As a result a great convocation was called at Hampton Court to give a hearing to both sides. The convo-

cation was a farce. Neither party was satisfied, and only one good thing grew out of it, namely, the designation of fifty-four scholars taken from English universities to make a translation of the Scriptures. This standard translation has long been known as the King James version of the Holy Scriptures. What an irony is implied in the fact that he was the instrument which gave to the world that version of the Bible which for three centuries has been the standard, and that immediately thereafter he was the means of introducing against the readers of the Bible persecutions which had their parallel only in the Spanish Inquisition. "No bishop, no king," was his usual maxim.

The Puritans had desired permission to hold meetings and to have the liberty of free discussion. The king's answer was: "You are aiming at a Scotch Presbytery which agrees with monarchy, as well as God and the devil." And to make his attitude quite clear he turned to the bishops at Hampton Court and said, "I will make the Puritans conform or I will harry them out of the land; or else, worse still, hang them, that's all." But of those Puritans whom James thus hated and would harry out of the kingdom, Hume says, "So absolute was the authority of the Crown that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone, and it was to this sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution."

That was the handful of God's seed corn thus despised by the great of the earth which God designed should shake like Lebanon and unsettle the thrones of

Christendom! The great queen who had conquered her great enemies and had established her throne more firmly than ever it had been established could not conquer the dispersed bands of despised peoples, whose only strength was in the oracles of God. The seed corn grew.

We come now to the story which determined the course of American history. In 1606, the very year that the first colony left England for the James River, a church of Separatists was organized in the obscure little village of Scrooby, on the borders of Nottinghamshire. It is famous now, but then it was a hamlet of farmers and laborers, poor, unknown, unregarded. Two immortal names were associated with it. One was the elder of the church, William Brewster. He was the postmaster of the village, a man of intelligence and capacity who once had been in diplomatic service in Holland, and whose thought now turned to that land of freedom as a possible refuge for the little band of Puritans whose position at Scrooby was daily becoming more perilous and intolerable.

Associated with him, and the guiding star of the Pilgrim migration, was John Robinson. He was a scholar of enlightened vision, a student and fellow at Cambridge, and for some time a beneficed clergyman of the established Church. But for a number of years he had identified himself with the company at Scrooby —their guide and inspiration. When the limit of endurance had been reached, after many trials and sufferings, he and Brewster led the way, first to Amsterdam and then to Leyden. Robinson made a welcome for

himself and his little band by the breadth of his views, his spirit of toleration and charity. With the Dutch and French churches he was on the best of terms. Robert Baille, who said many harsh things about Separatists, spoke this of Robinson: "He was a man of excellent parts, the most learned, polished and modest spirit that ever separated from the Church of England."

But though the Puritans had welcome among the broad-minded Dutch, life there was hard for the exiles. Poverty often pressed them sore. Dutch ways were foreign to their own. They still were Englishmen and longed for home. Many of them returned to England, choosing rather the chances of persecution in their own land than the hardships of a strange country. So God was winnowing His grain. Those who remained were more firmly of one mind, closely knit together in bonds of common sympathy, understanding and hope.

As time went on they became persuaded, however, that they should find a new environment where the genius of English Puritanism might have a more unhindered development. With all their devotion to their ideals there was danger that in Holland that devotion might be dimmed by accommodation to Dutch ideas and customs. Intermarriages might even dull the sharp sense of protest against ceremonialism. So the time hasted when they felt sure they must find a new state where they might "with liberty of a good conscience enjoy the pure Scripture worship of God without the admixture of human inventions and imposi-

tions, and their children after them might walk in the holy ways of the Lord."

Just at this time there was an awakening of new interest in American colonies. It was now 1617. Highly colored reports came of the fertility and wealth of Virginia, and the Puritans determined on a plan to remove thither. To this end they made appeal for a grant, first to the Virginia Company and then to the king. James, as was his habit, vacillated. It might not be a bad thing to get rid of Puritans. They had been a thorn in his side. But the prelates would be opposed to a church under royal favor that set aside the cherished ways of the establishment. When the petitioners were asked who in the new world would make their ministers they erected a barrier against the royal consent by saying, "We will make them ourselves." That was a prerogative never to be given to a handful of exiles. It might endanger the whole Church of England.

Thus discouraged, they gave up the business of getting a royal grant and patent. Instead, they made a partnership with certain London merchants to raise the necessary funds and prepared for their departure. The business end of their plans was decidedly to the advantage of those who furnished money and wholly to the disadvantage of the colonists. But they were willing to work for seven years without reward if then an American state with religious freedom might be established. Were ever men so regardless of personal advantage, so single-minded to actualize their dreams at whatever cost? They made ready their departure on

two small boats (dreadfully incompetent boats we in these days would consider them), the "Speedwell," of only sixty tons, and the "Mayflower," of one hundred eighty tons. They were not only too small to be safe, but they could carry only a part of the little church that was eager to adventure all for the prize of liberty. John Robinson therefore stayed at home to shepherd the decimated flock, while William Brewster went with the Pilgrims to instruct, guide and comfort them. Robinson's farewell words so breathe the spirit of the whole enterprise that it is worth while to record them here:

"I charge you, before God and His blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of His Holy Word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion and will go at present no further than the instruments of their reformation. Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God. I beseech you, remember it—'tis an article of your church covenant—that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God."

The pathos of their going is well illustrated by one of the brave voyagers, Edward Winslow:

"When the ship was ready to carry us away, the brethren that stayed at Leyden, having again solemnly sought the Lord with us and for us, feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of

psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. After this they accompanied us to Delft-Haven, where we went to embark, and then feasted us again; and, after prayer performed by our pastor, when a flood of tears was poured out, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part. But we only, going aboard, gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance; and so, lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed."

They were not far out at sea when the captain of the smaller boat thought he discovered a leak in the ship which would make further progress perilous. Historians seem to think the leak was in his own courage. The tempestuous Atlantic made that ooze away, and both vessels put about. In Plymouth the "Speedwell" was dismissed from the service, and all the company then willing to go (for some seem to have shared the captain's fright) embarked in crowded fashion on the "Mayflower." See them breasting North Atlantic storms, men, women, and children, setting their helm for an unknown land, known only to have privations and suffering, with a final farewell to all their old homes held dear, and all for the priceless privilege of unhindered, undictated worship. Their story has so often been told, their character and heroism so often glorified it would seem superfluous to write it again. But iteration never can dim those annals of a world's

supreme adventure for the rights of man and the glory of God.

And so, after three months of buffeting by the sea the weary but undismayed Pilgrims were tossed on the New England coast. And winter was coming on. Without welcome they left the Atlantic only to dare a wilderness. Their neighbors were to be savages, their resources the strength of their hands, their portion privation, toil, sickness, death, and a new stage for a new drama of human rights and freedom to worship God.

Without welcome, we said. Yet, strangely enough, there presently came a voice of greeting out of the wilderness. After a winter of almost incredible hardship, one day in March an Indian appeared in the hamlet with these surprising words, "Welcome, Englishmen." It was Samoset, who had learned a few words of English from some fishermen from the Banks. Even these words, which might have treachery back of them, were grateful to the ears of the exiles. The Indian gave them much needed information of the country and introduced them to the great Chief Massasoit—the sachem of all that country. It was an introduction of advantage. So had death wrought on the company during the winter that one-half of them were already in their graves on the little hill. There were only fifty left. They were in sore need of a friend, though it were the doubtful friendship of an Indian chief. A treaty was concluded between them—the first diplomatic act in America.

This treaty of mutual benefit was sacredly kept for

more than fifty years. Had the diplomacy of two score stout hearts at Plymouth Bay ruled the subsequent centuries what records of honor might have been written, what centuries of dishonor avoided!

The spirit which thus controlled the first acts of the colonists in their relations with the Indians continued for more than a generation. Almost immediately after their landing sporadic efforts were made to bring the elements of the gospel to the knowledge of the Indians. Little that could be recorded was accomplished until 1643. Up to that time friendly relations had been cultivated between the settlers and the natives. Prudence on both sides would enforce them. They were broken for a brief period when there was an outbreak of hostilities between Indian tribes in which the colonists became involved, and which resulted in the destruction of the Pequot tribe. But following that sad tragedy, to all outward appearances, peace reigned. The Indians were being justly treated. Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth, in a report to the Federal Commissioners, says:

"I think I can clearly say that before these present troubles broke out the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase from the Indian proprietors. Nay, because some of our people are of a covetous disposition, and the Indians are, in their straits, easily prevailed with to part with their lands, we first made a law that none should purchase or receive of gift any land of the Indians without the knowledge and allowance of our court."

If our "courts" had always maintained and exercised a similar guardianship over the rights of Indians, the records of gross injustice and downright robbery which now stain the pages of Indian administration in Oklahoma and elsewhere in the West had never been written.

From the first the touch of English life had been for the Indian's benefit. He was slowly learning some of the arts of civilized life and enjoying some of the elementary comforts which the white people enjoyed.

But toward the middle of the seventeenth century earnest efforts were made to accomplish that which every explorer from Columbus onward declared to be his aim—the conversion of the Indians.

In 1643 the Rev. Thomas Mayhew began missionary labors on the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. That the adult Indian ever advanced far in gospel knowledge has been doubted, but this much of good progress was made—they sent the children to school to attain the English language and opened little courts of justice for the better ordering of their communities. Under appeals going from Massachusetts in 1649 the British Parliament established the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England. This soon furnished an income of about ten thousand dollars a year. Those early missionaries seem to have interpreted the gospel in the terms of modern social workers, since they opened mission schools in which religion and agriculture were taught. They also had a dream that higher education was a right and a possibility for the Indians, for they erected a building in connection with

Harvard College where Indians might climb to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Their dream was ahead of the times. No Indians came, so they used the building for a printing house.

The most fruitful endeavor at Indian evangelism is associated with the name and labors of John Eliot, well deserving to be called "The Apostle to the Indians." Distinguished for scholarship, specially in linguistic lines, he came to Massachusetts in 1631 and for fourteen years devoted himself to the study of the Algonquin language. Then he began his monumental work—the translation into Algonquin of the entire Bible. This Bible was the first book to come from an American press. He accompanied this with an excellent Indian grammar. The book is now rare. Few there be who could read it, for the dialect has passed away. Only eternity will reveal the harvest from that patient sowing of gospel seed.

Eliot was not only a great scholar and preacher, he was an organizer as well; for, realizing how circumscribed must be the reach of one voice or one personal influence, he planned and secured the building of little Indian villages near to the colonists' villages, that the Christian lives and institutions, as well as voices, might carry the Christian message. In these villages many converts were gathered. Eliot's thought went even farther. The natives themselves must be trained to be missionaries to their own people, anticipating thus the most advanced thought of the foreign missionary propaganda of our day.

In 1651, at his request, the Council granted six thou-

sand acres to be set apart as a Christian Indian settlement. It was called "Natick." "The praying Indians," as they were called, asked Eliot for a form of government for their colony. He suggested what Jethro proposed to Moses. The result was a theocratic Christian Indian government. In thirty years, through Eliot's efforts, the Christian Indians numbered eleven thousand and had schools in fourteen towns. One of the young men took the degree of A. B. at Cambridge in 1665. That Eliot fed them on strong theological meat is evident from the title of one of the books he prepared for them. It was called "The Logic Primer"—"Some logical notions to initiate the Indian in the knowledge of the Rule of Reason." And the Indians read these books!

During King Philip's wars Eliot's praying Indians were the buffer between the hostile Indians and the whites. Eliot did not live to see the close of Indian war times, but he lived to see missionary work among the Indians extended to the Elizabeth Islands, to Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. He died in 1690. Shortly before his death, speaking of his work among the Indians, he said, "There is a dark cloud on the work of the gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that work and grant that it may live when I am dead." That his hope has been fulfilled we know when we think of the men and women who from that day to this have championed the cause of the red man and are the spiritual and intellectual descendants of this man of whom Cotton Mather said: "He was one who lived in heaven while

he was on earth, and there is no more than pure justice in our endeavor that he should live on earth after he is in heaven."

Some historians have questioned skeptically how far these Indians advanced in knowledge of theology. Probably not very far. The Ethiopian eunuch had not advanced very far either (Philip's catechism was a very short one), but far enough to be an example and an inspiration to the end of time.

These missionary labors cast a glory on the early relations of the English and the Indians. It is true toward the end of that century that glory was dimmed. The bloody times of King Philip's War broke the friendly relations of the earlier days. The tribal wars involved the settlers pressing on toward the West. Suspicion on the part of the Indians, hatred on the part of the white men, took the place of the kindly relations of the times of the Mayhews and John Eliot. American history began to tread its dark road of dishonor. But through the gloom of intervening generations the example of the first settlers, the labors of the first missionaries, shine with unfading luster.

For a few brief decades the colonists nobly vindicated the sincerity of their declaration that they came here in part to bring to the American Indians the gospel which had inspired and guided them.

And so on "ancient platform of God's law" the colony grew. It could get no charter from the Crown. But it could make its own laws, form its own institutions, develop a new pattern of self-government. In 1623 the first book of laws was written, if book that

might be called which for one-half dozen years comprised no more than three pages. Self-government required no great array of rules and regulations. They ruled and regulated themselves on a model—original, primitive and effective. They had elected their governor in the cabin of the "Mayflower." Other officers were called for as needed. There were no politics in elections. They knew who among them were wise and godly. They were the ones chosen for the responsibilities of government. As a writer said, "The old colony was always a strict democracy, ruling temperately and wisely, never at a loss to decide on executive and judicial questions, without precedent, without royal charter."

That the religion they came to advance was not a matter of forms, of "words and names," but a spontaneous expression of souls consciously in the hands of God, is manifested in the origin of Thanksgiving Day. When the first harvest had been gathered Governor Bradford sent out a hunting party to bring in turkeys for a feast of thanksgiving, "that they might in a special manner rejoice together after they had gathered the fruit of their labours."

And the Indians had a share in the solemn festivities. Bradford cemented the friendship existing between the Pilgrims and the Indians by inviting the great Chief Massasoit to bring his people to the banquet. He came with ninety of his people, but not empty-handed. He brought a deer to testify his appreciation and to add to the feast. This first Thanksgiving lasted for three days, with religious services in the "common house,"

and with manly sports, in which Englishmen and Indians united.

Once more, what if that spirit had pervaded our history! What if lands had never been stolen and Christian charity never violated! Thanksgiving Day may yet be a feast of Christian patriotism in which the saved remnants of our native population may vie with us late-comers in honoring the bounty of our common Father.

We come now to the other branch of the Puritan migration. Those who went to Plymouth in the "Mayflower" were Separatists, as they were called on the other side of the sea—Pilgrims, as history names them now. They stood, as we have seen, for absolute divorce between the reformation of religion and the established Church. They made no compromise; absolute separation was the only cure for the ills they had suffered. Lest in the new world, compromise might some day tempt to an abandonment of principle, they would be Separatists in America, as they had been in England.

But the majority of the people of Puritan tendencies were still members of the Church, and with no purpose to leave it. They would reform—not from without, but from within. They still held firmly to one national church, one in doctrine, organization and worship. Sensible of the need of changes, convinced that the Church had drifted a long way from the apostolic model and from the Christianity of the earlier centuries, they had no thought of leaving the ship. So for generations they protested against Romish tenden-

cies and fought for reform to the point of suffering, and often martyrdom.

But gradually there arose among them a company of clearer vision and more daring purpose. The High Church party also took more advanced ground. More ceremonials were introduced. Apostolic succession was more insisted upon. Doctrinal disputes also widened the chasm. The Puritans at the beginning of the seventeenth century were Calvinists. The churchmen tended to Arminianism. So were they driven apart. In the reign of Charles the First matters grew worse. The established Church was more intolerant toward Protestants, milder toward Catholics. In this they had the strong support of the Crown. Charles added no new interdicts on Protestant worship, but he enforced existing laws as never before. There could be only one end to the conflict between the High Church party, supported by the king, and the growing number of Puritans who lost hope of reform within the Church and decided that a break must be made.

Passing by the various attempts to secure charters and effect settlements on the New England coast as aside from our main purpose, we come to the famous grant of 1628, first from the Council of Plymouth and soon confirmed by the king, by which a belt of land extending from the Charles River to the Merrimac, and west to the Pacific Ocean was given to a company of eminent Englishmen, nearly all of whom united religious zeal with capacity for vigorous activity. John Endicott was the leading spirit of the enterprise. With what a devout spirit these emigrants went on their

voyage, and with what a strain on their hearts as they gave up all for a sacred adventure! Bancroft says:

"As Higginson and his companions were receding from the Land's End he called his children and others around him to look for the last time on their native country, not as the scene of sufferings from intolerance, but as the home of their fathers and the dwelling-place of their friends. They did not say, 'Farewell, Babylon! farewell, Rome!' but 'Farewell, dear England!' During the voyage they 'constantly served God, morning and evening, by reading and expounding a chapter in the Bible, singing and prayer.' On 'the Sabbath they added preaching twice, and catechising;' and twice they 'faithfully' kept 'solemn fasts.' The passage was 'pious and Christian-like,' for even 'the ship-master and his religious company set their eight and twelve o'clock watches with singing a psalm and with a prayer that was not read out of a book.'"

In June, 1628, they reached the colony. With the few already on the ground they constituted a company of only about fifty souls. Here was founded the town of Salem. As with the Pilgrims, one chief aim of the new colony was "propagation of the gospel." To this end they were careful to provide a gospel ministry. The twofold religious object avowed by the colonists was to build a new nation on a Christian foundation and to "win the natives to the Christian faith." On this point the instructions of Endicott were explicit: "If any of the savages pretend right of inheritance to all or any parts of the land granted in our patent, endeavor to purchase their title, that we may avoid the

least scruple of intrusion. Particularly publish that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives."

The year 1629 records the earliest election and ordination of Christian teachers. On the twentieth of July a day of fasting and prayer was appointed. The names of Skelton and Higginson were presented to the people, who by ballot expressed the choice. Though these men were ordained ministers of the Church of England, they based their right to accept the call—Skelton as pastor, Higginson as teacher—not on their ecclesiastical standing, but on their spiritual experience and on the suffrages of their brethren. Later, ruling elders and deacons were elected. Thus was the church organized —in part on the Presbyterian model of church government, in part on the principle of independence, in that it was self-constituted, recognizing no appointing power above it, and governed only by the free action of its members. This accommodation of worship, by which Presbyterianism and Congregationalism had acknowledged elements in the colonial church, continued for a long time.

It was natural that there should early develop differences of religious opinion. Thus some who came over could not bear to give up entirely the forms to which they had been accustomed. The prayer book was still dear to them. Notably, two brothers, John and Samuel Browne, introduced a note of discord in the plantation by gathering a small company like-minded with themselves to use the book of common prayer and finally to denounce the church of the colony as "Separatists." The answer the ministers gave was definite and was

accepted as an affirmation of that for which home had been given up.

"We separate [they said] not from the Church of England, but from its corruptions. We came away from the common prayer and ceremonies in our native land, where we suffered much for non-conformity. In this place of liberty we cannot, we will not, use them. Their imposition would be a sinful violation of the worship of God."

So matters went on until 1630, when a notable addition was made to the growing American colony in the large company of emigrants which went out under John Winthrop. This emigration marks the advance to the spirit of civil freedom infused with a devout Christian purpose. Winthrop was a conformist at home, but with an unconquerable yearning for "gospel purity" and a freer life. He kept his charity and even loyalty to the church of his fathers, but with it a dream of something better. How kindly attachment to a church one has loved may consist with deep conviction of a need of change is illustrated in a farewell address Winthrop and his fellow passengers left as a parting benediction. It so reveals the large heart and the free mind that we quote an important passage:

"Reverend fathers and brethren, howsoever your charities may have met with discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or the indiscretion of some amongst us, yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice that the principals and body of our com-

pany esteem it our honour to call the Church of England, from whence wee rise, our deare mother, and cannot part from our native countrie, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes; blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, and, while we have breath, we shall syncerely indeavor the continuance and abundance of her welfare.

"Be pleased, therefore, reverend fathers and brethren, to helpe forward this worke now in hand; which, if it prosper, you shall bee the more glorious. It is a usuall exercise of your charity to recommend to the prayers of your congregations the straights of your neighbours; do the like for a church springing out of your owne bowels; pray without ceasing for us, who are a weake colony from yourselves."

On board the ship Winthrop further expressed the purpose that ruled this remarkable band in these words:

"The worke wee have in hand is by a mutuall consent, through a speciall overruling Providence, and a more than ordinary approbation of the churches of Christ, to seeke out a place of cohabitation and consorteshipp under a due forme of government both civill and ecclesiastical. For this wee are entered into covenant with God; for this wee must be knitt together as one man, allways having before our eyes our commission as members of the same body. Soe shall wee keepe the unitie of the spirit in the bond of peace. The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us, as his owne people; wee shall see much more of his wisdome, power, goodness, and truthe, than formerly wee have been acquainted with; he shall make us a prayse and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantations, 'The Lord make it likely that of New England.'"

These emigrants, not attracted to Salem, made choice of Charlestown, and later Boston, as their home. The organization of the church there followed the pattern of the Salem church. Winthrop and four others were its nucleus. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed. They chose John Wilson as their pastor, ordained him themselves in apostolic fashion by the "laying on of hands," and in like manner chose and ordained ruling elders and deacons. Thus was this "Presbygationalism" established in New England. But by emigration to other parts the Presbyterianism slowly disappeared and Boston became the center of a system which has ruled New England and which expresses the essential spirit of the Puritans—the equality of believers and the independence of all the churches.

We have now pursued the Christian lines of the emigration from England to the establishing of the two colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. The differences between them at the beginning were marked, not in principle, but in degree. Separatists, or Pilgrims, and Puritans alike agreed in the pursuit of freedom from royal edicts as to worship and from ecclesiastical edicts commanding doctrines to be believed and forms to be observed. They disagreed as to the action in every case incumbent on those who would cherish and avow those principles. The Separatists would tolerate no compromise. They recognized no hope for reform save in absolute separation from king and prelate and priestly organization. There was only one remedy for the ecclesiastical departure from gospel simplicity and purity—that was to abandon as hopeless

the Church in which that simplicity was overlaid with ceremonies, that purity lost in worldly conformity to behests of princes, whether in church or state.

The Puritans, holding with equal vigor the necessity of a reformation, were at first not hopeless of securing it within the Church. It might even be a Christian duty to remain in the Church and endure persecution, if so the light might break in and gradually the people and the powers of the Church be led to see, approve and seek the better way.

But when Endicott's company, and later the Winthrop emigrants, pulled up the gangplank of the vessels that were to bear them away from the Church, they, too, became Separatists. While in the wilderness of the new world for a while a distinction between Plymouth and Salem was maintained, and they were in two camps which did not always understand or appreciate each other, it did not require a long wilderness experience to make it plain that they had left the mother country for the same reasons and were in the new land to advance and defend the identical principles of free states and a free church.

It is said sickness in Salem first brought them together, when the Salem church sought the help of a Plymouth physician. All that was needed to make them value each other as Christians of the same pattern was thus to get on terms of fellowship through sympathy and help. Henceforth distinctions lost all sharp lines and all the colonies along the New England coast became brothers in a common, sacred cause. Later on we shall see that they somewhat declined

from the lofty ideals which characterized the first years of the colonies. But nothing can dim the luster of their early achievement, nor abate the fact that by creed and institutions they, more than any other colonies, prepared the way for free civil government and for the extension of Christian ideas and Christian institutions, not only in New England but even to that Pacific which, in superb ignorance, their charter had named the western boundary of their royal grant.

Various were the elements that entered into the building of our temple of freedom. It is the purpose of these chapters to trace and recognize them. It is somewhat difficult to assign to each national or racial origin just the place it had in giving us foundations of strength and walls of beauty. The varieties are many and great. But all were needed to secure for us Herbert Spencer's "ultimate man." But it is no extravagance to say that free schools, free elections, government of and for and by the people, and freedom of Christian thought and worship had nowhere more mighty champions than among Pilgrims and Puritans, who could give up home and kindred and native land to dare a wilderness and suffer its afflictions and perils in the following of a star of political and religious liberty whose light they had seen from afar. If some other colonies were founded in a spirit of adventure, others in the lure of gain, and yet others from political ambition, it will be the everlasting glory of the Pilgrims and the Puritans that to build the Kingdom of God among men was their one single consuming purpose. To that star they hitched their wagon.

VI

PILGRIMS AND PURITANS (Continued)

WE come now to the story of the lines of colonial extension as influenced by the religious life and thought. We have spoken of religious conditions in the old world as determining the first settlements at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, and the differences between those first settlements. Plymouth was the refuge of the Separatists, as they were not ashamed to the called—the men who could find no relief from their trouble save in absolute separation from the established Church. To find this relief they fled first to Holland, where they set up their altars and for twelve years kept up an unflinching protest against the doctrines and practices of the Church of England, and then fled to the American wilderness to make their protest effective in a separate church.

The Massachusetts Bay colony was no less a protest against the abuses of the English Church, but was unwilling to believe that the case within the Church was hopeless. They came to America still cherishing the thought that the church of their fathers might yet be so far reformed that separation from it would not be inevitable. How many reforms have trodden this same path!

But whatever apparent or real chasm there may have

been between Pilgrims and Puritans on their first landing, it required no long experience in the new world to bridge it entirely.

The pressure of the new environments soon drew the Puritans toward the principles of the Plymouth colony. They early came to them for counsel. Governor Winslow says some of the Puritans came to inquire about the right way to conduct their Christian work, and then adds, "We accordingly showed them the primitive practise taken out of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles written to the several churches by the apostles, together with the commandment of Christ the Lord in the gospel, and other our warrant for every particular we did from the Book of God." So definite and strong was this drawing toward the Pilgrim colony that the Puritans went even beyond Plymouth in their maintenance and defense of the Separatist position. It will be the purpose of this chapter to show how, though for a period the two parties drew together, they later separated somewhat because the churches around the Bay went farther than even Plymouth had gone in an attitude of intolerance toward the established Church.

We have told how the Puritans were prompt to appoint a schoolmaster in the person of the godly and scholarly Higginson. The church and school in that colony began their life together. Devoted as the Puritans were at the first to the mother Church, they were keenly aware of the fact that the decline of true religion in the kingdom was in no small measure due to the appalling ignorance of the clergy. Tyndale had

said, with what, if any, exaggeration cannot be known, but doubtless with essential truth, that in 1530 there were twenty thousand clergymen in the Church of England who could not translate the Lord's Prayer into English. Neal says, "In Cornwall about the year 1578 out of one hundred forty clergymen not one was capable of preaching."

In general, throughout the kingdom it is said the number of those who could not preach but only read the service was nearly four to one. The Puritans were the learned part of the clergy, and they, at the end of the sixteenth century, had so largely been silenced or driven away it is said there were only two thousand preachers to serve ten thousand parishes. About the middle of the sixteenth century Bishop Latimer preached his famous "Sermon of the Plough," in which he arraigns the clergy as follows:

"But this much I dare say, that since lording and loitering hath come up, preaching hath come down, contrary to the apostles' times; for they preached and lorded not, and now they lord and preach not. . . . For ever since the prelates were made lords and nobles, the plough standeth; there is no work done, the people starve. They hawk, they hunt, they card, they dice; they pastime in their prelacies with gallant gentlemen, with their dancing minions, and with their fresh companions, so that ploughing is set aside; and by their lording and loitering, preaching and ploughing is clean gone."

No wonder with such facts before them in recent history the conviction was burned deep into the minds

of Puritans that if they would found a church that should survive it must have an educated ministry as one of its foundation stones. Hence, the Higginson school and hence, shortly after, Harvard College.

Another foundation was a spiritual church free from errors of doctrine and in living communion with the Head of the Church. Between Christ and believers no barriers of form or ceremony should be erected. The Christian's access to God must be free and unhindered.

The question of church government which, as we shall see, soon came to divisive prominence, was not in the minds of the Puritans. Independency was soon defined and Presbyterianism came to claim recognition, but it was not so at the beginning. Episcopacy was assumed by many for a while as the only practicable form of government. But this only because of their attachment to its rites. The logic of the colony's condition soon forced a change. But the essential, and at the first the only essential, attitude of the Puritans in regard to worship was the belief in the doctrine of Christian liberty and the common and universal priesthood of believers expressed in a visible church. When they landed they were not a church; whether called Separatists or Puritans, they had no church. That was left behind in England. They were a band of helpless people on an unfriendly shore. They started anew like the apostolic Church. Necessarily for the time being they were an independent church, making their own laws, settling their own forms. They had no one with whom to consult; still less any earthly power to which they were responsible. So at first the two churches—

the one at Plymouth and the one at Salem—were independent or, as we would say, congregational churches.

As a matter of fact, the churches in New England were founded much as were the first reformed churches in England. Wyclif at the first faint dawn of the Reformation gave the norm of all the independent churches in these remarkable words: "The temple of God is the congregation, living religiously, of just men for whom Jesus shed His blood." And again, "Looking at the present state of the Church we find it would be better and of greater use to the Church if it were governed purely by the law of Scripture than by human traditions mixed up with evangelical." On this pattern the hunted saints of the times of bloody Mary gathered in humble homes, "usurped the office of preaching" and were the only "temple of God" in the kingdom.

If Endicott and those who came with him in 1628 shrank at first from the name of Separatist, the hunger for a pure worship based on personal Christian experience soon forced them to the Separatists' side. In a letter to Governor Bradford he wrote, "Touching your judgment of the outward forms of God's worship, it is, as far as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed Himself unto me."

The Salem church thus became a separate religious community, recognizing no authority above itself except the Word of God. This position, however, was not maintained without a struggle. There were some who had not the clear vision of Endicott. They could

not give up their historic connection with the forms which time had made dear. They clung to the beautiful words of the "Book of Common Prayer." Those who might be called the Episcopal section of the colony were few in numbers, but stout in their convictions. When they accused the Puritans of tending away from all historic doctrines and becoming "Anabaptists" (at that time a term of high reproach) the Puritans made the answer given in the preceding chapter.

"We separate not from the Church of England but from its corruptions."

This introduces a new and painful chapter of colonial history. The position taken by Endicott and his brethren was, of course, right. Having fled from their homes that they might have liberty, they could not do less. But they should not have done more. Up to this point the conduct of Pilgrims and Puritans in defense of their rights had been all that could have been desired. They came for freedom to worship God. They had it, and therewith should have not only been content, but should have carried their principles to their logical conclusion and been as firm in demanding freedom of worship for others as for maintaining it for themselves. But they failed.

At the instance of Endicott the two leaders of the little Episcopal party were seized, put on shipboard and sent back to England. The only reason for their banishment was that they were churchmen. This was in direct violation not only of Puritan principles, but of

their own brief history—for even Endicott was something of a churchman when he first landed in America.

We come, therefore, to the parting of the ways for the Puritans—the time when the colonists at various points and in various ways forgot their earlier vows and entered upon ways which were reactionary and divisive. For the little band at Salem a necessity for maintaining their doctrines and practices uncorrupted is of course to be recognized. They should have accorded the same privilege to others. Even so fair a historian as Palfrey in his history of New England defends the action of the Puritans on the ground that religious intolerance "is simply self-defense whenever tolerance would be public ruin." On this principle all persecution might be justified. Even Archbishop Laud could thus justify his expulsion or imprisonment of heretics. To have them around might be dangerous! There are some perils freemen must accept. One of them is the danger of freedom to worship God! There never is such danger. Where it is so regarded the consequences, real or imaginary, should be faced.

We have referred to the rapid growth of the Puritans. Thus twelve years after the beginning of the settlement the colony had more than twenty thousand people, had planted fifty towns and villages, had organized thirty or forty churches, had founded Harvard College and sent settlements through Massachusetts into New Hampshire and along the banks of the Connecticut River.

The Puritans also had an advantage over the Pil-

grims in the number and character of the ministers who came over. There were giants in those days along Massachusetts Bay. Higginson, Cotton, Hooker, Mather and others were divinely fitted to be great leaders in a great cause at a great time.

It was not probable that such men of independent thinking would long keep such absolute harmony as ruled the first few years of both colonies. Further new elements of the population came in, people with less singleness of purpose and with various training and habits of thought. Gradually divergences of belief began to appear—diverse forms of experience and varying ideas of church organization.

When James the First came to the throne and the spirit of persecution grew, increasing numbers fled from England. Among them were Presbyterians and Episcopalians. The former had received from Geneva the strong meat of Calvinism. The latter, dissenting more or less from the ways of the Church at home, were not yet prepared for the final separation. Still others came possessed of vagaries of thought learned sometimes among English dissenters and again from bodies of Protestants on the continent.

Warned by these increasing and diverse elements of the population, the Puritan churches did two things, as they supposed, for their own protection, but which history has severely condemned and which their own experience early led them to abandon.

The first was the undemocratic organization of their government. The franchise was limited to church members. It was not so at Plymouth. The Pilgrims,

though far weaker and in greater need of any protection such an ordinance might be supposed to give, never availed themselves of it. It gives the one great reason why Plymouth Rock must ever stand before the American public as the outstanding sign and guarantee of the principles of the entire separation of church and state on which our national constitution rests.

The reasoning of the Puritans seems to have been that much of the procedure of England in respect of the voting power should be carried across the sea as a defense against undesirable elements of the population. It was soon recognized as out of harmony with the ideals which forced the emigrations. But for the time it was conceived to be a stern necessity. This was their rule:

"To the end that the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was ordered and agreed that for the time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same."

We need not wonder at, nor too sternly disapprove this concession to age-long inheritance of the doctrine of the union of church and state. The less so, when we consider that aside from their inheritance they were dominated by the sublime purpose to know no king but Christ, and on these shores securely to enthrone Him in the terms and provisions of a theocratic government. So determined were they on this cornerstone of their

new building they would take no chances of having the allurements of a new world finally overwhelm them with an ungodly population which would subvert their cherished designs.

We can now see that they were illogical and that their defense was no defense. Let us not wonder that the heights of popular government to which the centuries have led us were not accessible to these children of the wilderness. And yet, though this narrowing of the elective franchise was hostile to the free government the Puritans professed, Bancroft discovers in it the sign of ideals much to be praised. He says:

"The aristocracy was founded not on wealth but on those who had been ransomed at too high a price to be ruled by polluting passions and had received a seal of divinity in proof of their fitness to 'do the noblest and godliest deeds.' Other states have confined political rights to the opulent, to freeholders, to the first-born; the Calvinists of Massachusetts refusing any share of civil power to the clergy, established the reign of the visible church—a commonwealth of the chosen people in covenant with God."

And if any inquired, "Why should restrictions found intolerable in the mother country be imposed on the new colony?"—their sufficient answer was in another question, "Why should they open their asylum to their oppressors?" They must themselves be the judges of what was necessary to make that asylum secure. They had fled from home to safeguard their religion—why should they throw away their safeguards? So when the constitution thus restricting suffrage to the saints

was established, Cotton wrote triumphantly to friends in Holland: "The order of the churches and the commonwealth is now so settled in New England by common consent that it brings to mind the new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness."

They who are disposed to censure the Puritans for this practice of a restricted franchise should remember not only that it was conceived as a measure of self-defense, but also that in the free atmosphere of the colonies it was speedily outgrown. Indeed, there were men who very promptly saw its inconsistency. Chief among these was Thomas Hooker. He was a graduate of the University of Cambridge and was a member of the famous Westminster Assembly which formulated the doctrines which have been the animating and directing power of Christian thought ever since.

At the very first meeting of the general court of the new colony he preached a sermon in which he said, "The foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people." That pregnant sentence had in it the seeds of all free government. In it is the doctrine which one hundred forty years later took shape in the American Constitution. Not finding in the Massachusetts colony the response to his pioneer thinking which he had expected, he sought a new wilderness where he might make it effective. With his wife and a few like-minded souls he emigrated to the banks of the Connecticut River and founded the now beautiful city of Hartford. Here there was room for his daring creed. Here he founded the first really free commonwealth of the new world.

In 1639 his principle of total separation of church and state was embodied in the constitution of Connecticut. No religious test there limited the right of suffrage. How easily the Massachusetts people were persuaded of this better way is illustrated by the fact that in 1647, only eight years later, the influence of Hooker's doctrine had so permeated Massachusetts that the General Court ordered that those who were not members of churches might vote for selectmen and on questions of taxation and that such persons might also be chosen to fill certain offices in the town.

It was not, however, till 1669 that all laws limiting civic privileges to church members were repealed. So the Massachusetts Bay colony obtained her charter of freedom—a charter, by the way, which Plymouth always had. It is to the immortal honor of the little company of Pilgrims that there no religious test as a qualification for the suffrage and the rights of citizenship was imposed.

The full declaration of Puritan doctrine did not appear until the adoption of the Cambridge Platform in 1651. But essentially its declarations had been the belief of the colonists from the first. The Pilgrims were Protestants of the Reformed or Calvinistic type. They got their first lessons in systematic theology from John Robinson, who had defended the decrees of the Synod of Dort against the Arminians.

John Cotton early in the settlement prepared a catechism to which John Calvin could hardly have added anything of theological severity. The church in Salem adopted a covenant which reads as follows: "We cove-

nant with the Lord and one with another and do bind ourselves in the presence of God to walk together according as He is pleased to reveal Himself to us in His blessed word of Truth."

So when the time came for the colonists to take up their theology systematically, it was natural and easy for them to propound an only slightly modified form of the Westminster Confession of Faith. The time had come, Cotton Mather declared, " when it was convenient that the churches of New England should have a system of their discipline extracted from the Word of God and exhibited unto them with a more effectual acknowledged and established recommendation, and nothing but a council was proper to compose the system."

The result of this council was an accommodation to the large Presbyterian element which had come into New England. John Cotton felt the need of some approach to a representative form of government when he said: " Because we do profess dependence upon magistrates for civil government and rule of our administration, dependence upon the counsel of other churches and synods when our own variance or ignorance may stand in need of such help from them."

Such views prevailed in the council and gave a platform which Dr. Dexter has well designated as a " Congregationalized Presbyterianism or Presbyterianized Congregationalism." Whichever way one reads this accommodating terminology the result is the same. The fifty churches which adopted this platform " for substance of doctrine " had the liberty of interpretation

and lived happily under its terms. The Presbyterians could lay stress on Genevan doctrine and the Congregationalists on independency.

But, as the years went on, "The New England Way" tended increasingly toward the independent church, holding its creed with varying degrees of stringency and developing more and more into that Congregationalism which has become the inheritance of New England people wherever scattered abroad.

The limitations of the franchise to church membership was the first mistake of the Puritans in the development of their church life. Their second mistake—their attitude toward divergences of doctrine—was a more grievous one. The doctrinal harmony implied in John Cotton's catechism, and more fully formulated in the Cambridge Platform, was put to its first strain. The coming to America of Roger Williams marks an important era in the theological, and even the religious, life of the colonies. He was born in London in 1604 and graduated from Cambridge in 1627—one year before the Puritan colony sailed for America. He took orders in the Church of England and for a time served as chaplain to a nobleman in Essex. He was a man of keen and compelling conscience. Its first compulsion came when he refused preferment in the Church because some conscientious scruples began to trouble him. They became more troublesome and so dominant that he resolved to find a new world for his activities.

He came to America in 1631, serving first as assistant teacher in the school Higginson had opened in Salem. Here, too, his views outgrew his environment.

He must find a more liberal community. The Pilgrims were said to be more advanced than the Puritans, and to Plymouth the adventurous thinker resorted. Two years there were enough. We are not advised what made him leave the heroic little band, but we find him back in Salem, where he succeeded Skelton as the minister of the church. The eccentric and daring pioneer soon got into trouble again. But his thinking had matured into definite convictions and, like Luther, he was now prepared to defend them.

The trouble began in a very innocent way. The brethren were in the habit of meeting once a week to discuss theological questions. Williams protested against what he feared might become a presbytery or some other ecclesiastical court. So, gradually, an issue was joined, and Williams announced and defended several propositions which were deemed heretical. Thus he inveighed against taking or occupying any land of the Indians without purchase and consent. The king's patent, he declared, conveyed no just title to the land of the colonies. This contention he afterward modified so that the court to which the case had been brought declared "the matters not so evil as at first they thought."

But they were not yet done with Williams. His next proposition was that the civil power of a state had no jurisdiction over the consciences of men. He had already suffered much for conscience. He was prepared to suffer more. "The doctrine of persecution," he declared, "is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Christ Jesus." This position

cut sharp across some of the colonial laws. Thus church attendance was compulsory. "You have no right to compel a man to go to church," was Williams' plea. It seems axiomatic now, but it stirred up a hornets' nest then. Williams soon found the hornets all around him; but he maintained his ground. "What!" exclaimed his antagonists, "is not the laborer worthy of his hire?" "Yes," was the sharp rejoinder, "from them that hire him."

In the minds of the magistrates, opinions were at work which might unsettle civic foundations. Could it be that a theocratic government had no right to enforce its decrees so as to protect the purity of the Church? Must heresies be allowed free course? What would be the end of such liberty? We wonder now at the positions on the part of the enlightened and godly Puritans, but they were only working out their inheritance. It is difficult to pull loose from the roots of ages of thinking.

As the controversy grew hotter Williams grew stouter in defending his convictions. No matter what the result of giving freedom her own way in religious thought, the "magistrate may not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy." On such a doctrine what might not happen to a church for the founding of which they had suffered all things? So the lines were drawn. Williams was brought into court and put upon his oath to answer for his opinions. He blocked proceedings by declaring he could not take the oath. He denied the right of the court to impose it.

Matters were made worse by the loyalty of the Salem church to their teacher. As a punishment a tract of land which they held was taken from them. Later, Salem was disfranchised till an ample apology should be made. The church yielded and Williams was left the one solitary exponent of the modern doctrine of religious liberty. His withdrawal was a magnificent declaration of his willingness to suffer to the uttermost for the principles so dear to him. These are the sublime words in which he announced his withdrawal:

"My own voluntary withdrawing from all these churches resolved to continue in persecuting the witnesses of the Lord, presenting light unto them. I confess it was my own voluntary act; yea, I hope the act of the Lord Jesus sounding forth in me the blast which shall in His own holy season cast down the strength and confidence of these inventions of men."

Dr. Henry M. Dexter published a learned and exhaustive monograph to prove that Williams was not banished because he advocated toleration of religious opinions, but because he was seditious and advanced doctrines which would be subversive of the security of the state. Dr. Dexter confesses that the doctrine of the liberty of conscience was one which was included in the charges against Williams, but that other reasons for banishment were determinate. "Action in reality was solely taken," Dr. Dexter affirms, "in view of his seditious, defiant and pernicious posture toward the state." He quotes liberally to sustain this contention. But quotations fail to obscure the outstanding

fact that the center and soul of all Williams' creed was only this—that the civil powers have authority only over the state. These are his words, "No one should be bound to maintain a worship against his own consent."

This was in direct conflict with the theocratic government as established in Massachusetts. This government need not be wondered at. The people were not yet wholly free from old-world standards. It is not a matter of surprise that Cotton and the other Puritan leaders who believed in civic process to enforce religious edicts should refuse to accept Williams' doctrine that "civil power extends only to the bodies and goods and outward estates of men," and that with conscience and religious opinions "the civil magistrates may not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy." But it is idle to maintain that such sentiments were not the cause of his banishment. The other charges were trivial compared to this.

Somewhat inconsistently, while maintaining that it was not intolerance that procured Williams' dismission from the colony, Dr. Dexter excuses the action of the General Court on the ground of necessity. He says, "Had Williams been permitted to remain and been able to carry out his views, it is not easy to see how some grand catastrophe could have been averted. . . . Our fathers felt themselves reluctantly compelled to choose between his expulsion and the immediate risk of social, civil and religious disorganization." That is, the liberty of conscience would expose the colony to danger, and therefore must not be tolerated!

While thus it seems true that the Puritan fathers erred in the trial and expulsion of Williams, it is not necessary to accuse them, as does Straus in his life of Williams, of a persecuting fury. "Cotton," he says, "formulated laws under which 'Antinomians,' Baptists, Quakers and other sectaries were fined, imprisoned, branded, banished, whipped, mutilated and hanged." This gives an impression of Cotton far away from the truth. The worst that can be truthfully said of him is that he shared the intellectual infirmities of the seventeenth century and that the aggressive and fiery temper of Williams gave Cotton all too much excuse for his theocratic procedure.

The wonder is, not that the Puritans sometimes persecuted for opinions, but that they so soon outgrew the inherited infirmity. The truth regarding the whole affair of Williams' banishment lies somewhere midway between the unshaded glorification of all the Puritans did and the dangerous character and the state-wrecking conduct of that pioneer of freedom, Roger Williams.

John Cotton, as if half ashamed of the finding of the Court that Williams should go into banishment, apologizes for it by saying that, after all, his "banishment" was but "an enlargement." That is, the world was large. Williams was sent away from church and home and friends into a wilderness; but in it there was so much room that the good man would have an unusual chance for expansion. A very amusing, and on the whole one would say insufficient, justification of persecution.

The sentence of the General Court was carried out, though not as intended. It was proposed to ship the troublesome preacher back to England. There his principles would have short shrift. But the plan failed. When the officers of the law sought him in his house he was not to be found. He had emigrated—had sought his "enlargement" in the untracked forest and among the huts of savages. They befriended the man whom a Christian community had cast out. After weeks of wandering and suffering and perils he reached the spot his character and labors have made immortal. Here, on the slope of a hill in what is now Rhode Island, he pitched his tent, and in grateful recognition of the goodness of God named the place "Providence."

A very short time after his settlement in Rhode Island he had an opportunity to reveal the greatness of his character by befriending, and perhaps saving, the Massachusetts Bay people who had sent him away. The warlike Pequot tribe had hostile designs on the Puritans. The Puritans appealed for help to the man they had persecuted. He promptly set out on the perilous mission and defeated the Pequot design to effect a coalition with the great Narragansett tribe. He induced this tribe to make friendly terms with the Puritans. In a letter recounting his experiences he says, "Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms methought reeked with the blood of my countrymen—murdered and massacred by them on

the Connecticut River, from whom I could not but look nightly for their bloody knives at my own throat also. God wondrously preserved me and helped me to break to pieces the Pequot's negotiations and designs and to make and finish, by many travels and changes, the English league with the Narragansetts and Mohegans against the Pequots."

There is little to record of Williams during the first few years of his residence in Providence. He was on good terms with the Indians and supported himself by the labors of his hands. But in 1638 a little company of Anabaptists from Massachusetts Bay sought his refuge. Some of them were driven from the Bay Colony as was Williams. The motives which had moved him to seek the larger liberty of the wilderness impelled their steps. They had heard that Williams had found a place where there was no government to oppress, and thither they went. So far there had been no religious organization. But that a primitive form of worship might be established, Williams sought baptism at the hand of one of the little colony and then administered it, in turn, to the others. So in apostolic fashion was organized the first Baptist Church of America—the beginnings of a body which has had a mighty share in the development of American Christianity.

Our purpose does not make it necessary to follow further the personal life of the founder of Baptist churches. His eccentricities soon led him out of the church fold, though he continued to preach his doctrine of the freedom of conscience and to see that it

was formulated in the constitution of the state. Whatever may have been his vagaries of opinion or conduct, America will ever remember him as the first American to stand and suffer for the absolute separation of church and state and the supremacy of conscience in all matters of religion. Chief Justice Durfree's eulogium on the "Two Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary of the Planting of Providence" is scarce overdrawn when, referring to Williams' trial, he says:

"The future of Rhode Island—to some extent the future of the world—hangs suspended on the issue. Will he, like his Church, worn out and desperate, blenching before the unknown, lose heart and yield? Never! He stands unshaken in the rocky strength of his convictions. He is ready not only to be 'bound and banished, but to die for them.'"

We have come now to the point where it is necessary to consider what share the religious opinions of colonists had in their dispersion to the interior. Up to 1640 (when the pressure of persecution ceased in England) there was a rapid increase in the population. By 1643 settlers had pushed up into New Hampshire and Vermont and westward to and beyond the Connecticut River. These settlements were determined in part by economic considerations. Better land and more of it, as in all colonization, had a large share in the migrations. But the religious motive was also strong, in some cases determinate.

The purely theocratic government of the Bay Colony

was no longer satisfying to large groups of the people. Many inquired whether the union of church and state, as learned in England and practiced by the Puritans, was best adapted for the new conditions. The example of Williams began to be contagious. The religious ferment found expression in numerous vagaries; individualism ran rampant, and underneath all the theological eccentricities represented by such words as "Antinomians" and "Seekers" there was the slow-forming conviction that a freer life than they had yet known was possible.

We have referred to the migration to Connecticut, and Hooker's share in forming there the first constitutional government. Though he had a part—perhaps a reluctant part—in the trial of Williams, only a few years later he became the leader in separating church from state in the Connecticut colony.

Similar steps toward freedom were undertaken by others. The Presbyterians, many of whom had settled in New Hampshire, were dissatisfied with the law which restricted the franchise to members of Congregational churches, and in a petition to the General Court they asked "that their civil disabilities might be removed and that all members of the Churches of England and Scotland might be admitted to communion with the New England churches." If that could not be granted, they prayed that they might be released from all civil burdens. That had in it a touch of Genevan republicanism, carried over to Scotland and thence to New England.

Thus the ferment was working. Two forces were

balancing. The one was the Old Testament pattern of government which their theology gathered from the laws of Moses. This was the centripetal force which held them in a compact body—which convinced them that their all in a new world was at stake in maintaining purity of doctrine as they understood it and which, by inevitable logic, sometimes made them intolerant.

But their very theology which shaped the early form of community life had in it the seeds of its own dissolution. There was a centrifugal force. They were a body of thinkers. They studied their Bibles. Every home was a young theological seminary. And it made inquirers. Their thinking passed on from the laws of Moses to the liberty of the New Testament. It produced individualists who often became "cranks." All sorts of theologies sprang up out of the intellectual ferment. It sent Williams to Providence and later Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who rejoiced in the name "Antinomian." She was not under the law, but under grace, and the severe doctrines of the Puritans were an offense. It filled Rhode Island with peculiar people. John Fiske says:

"People who fancied themselves favored with direct revelations from Heaven; people who thought it right to keep the seventh day of the week as a Sabbath instead of the first day; people who cherished a special predilection for the Apocalypse and the Book of Daniel; people with queer views about property and government; people who advocated either too little marriage or too much marriage; all such eccentric char-

acters as are apt to come to the surface in periods of religious excitement found in Rhode Island a favored spot where they could prophesy without let or hindrance."

These peculiar people were on their way to freedom. This rugged thinking burst bands of habitation as well as doctrine, turned men to new ideas and to new regions for their development. Massachusetts was not full. There was plenty of room. The good land had not all been taken. But the intellectual atmosphere was too confined for adventurous souls. The Presbyterians went to New Hampshire. Two towns in that state were founded by "Antinomians" and two by Episcopalians.

Thus, all the way from the White Mountains to Long Island Sound it was theology, if not religion, that drove people into the wilderness. They had escaped the union of church and state. But the stability and protection of society demanded that there should be political bonds of some sort to take the place of those they had escaped.

Thus came about the New England Confederacy. The four colonies united in it were Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, the latter colony having been founded by John Davenport in 1638 and differed from the Connecticut colony in closer accommodation to the theocratic ideas of Massachusetts Bay. Connecticut was the most democratic of them all, even as it was the first in establishing a constitution which served as a model for the Federal Govern-

ment. Of the conditions in its life at this time John Fiske has written:

"Nowhere in America so large a proportion of people in easy circumstances, nowhere more comfort and refinement to the square mile. Relation of landlord to tenant was seldom met in Connecticut. Education was universal, the country squire much more cultivated than his contemporary in England, as the country minister was more learned. Self-government by town meeting was ubiquitous; the commonwealth for all practical purposes as independent of Great Britain as it is to-day. In the eighteenth century the home of unpretentious and refined democracy; a land of steady habits."

In all of the New England colonies there were at this time (1643) only twenty-four thousand people, much the larger number being in Massachusetts. Rhode Island was not included in the group, on the ground that they were too peculiar and heterogeneous to be harmonious with any other group. It was the theological Botany Bay and has raised in some historians' minds the question whether after all the Puritans were not wise in protecting their society by putting up some barriers against religious "cranks." It is, however, the general judgment that prison walls were too severe a barrier against diversities of creed even in the seventeenth century.

Through the years following there was a pretty wide dispersion of Puritan elements. They were to be found in all the colonies, even as far south as Virginia—men-

tion of the reception they met there being indicated in a preceding chapter.

How the "United Colonies of New England" developed their government and social and religious life, each according to its own model; how each in its own way grew and prospered; how dividing lines faded and gradually all came together on principles of government and toleration of opinion which are the glory of the twentieth century, is the familiar story of history. Our purpose in this sketch is complete if we have shown the religious thread that runs through and colors all the warp and woof of the early colonial life, if it has become at all apparent that the great Reformation principles which triumphed in the Revolution in England, which destroyed the ecclesiastical tyranny of rulers and gave the people the right of freedom to worship God, was the same ongoing of Divine Providence which led our Pilgrim and Puritan fathers step by step to the full liberty of conscience and independence of the Church.

Various were the ways in which this crowning achievement of the seventeenth century was reached—by steps now hesitating and halting, and again by wild and headlong movement; now over barriers which self-defense had built for the protection of the ideals which set the prow of the "Mayflower" to the new world, and again by free and unfettered strides of daring thought, which created precedents where none had been found. At last all the colonies stood on the same free good ground of absolute toleration of opinions, absolute freedom in religion.

We need not too severely judge the limitations of the times. Above all their shadows stands out the glorious truth—that when God would found a new empire for His Kingdom he selected souls great enough to outgrow the trammels of centuries of inheritance and achieve for themselves and transmit to us the freedom wherewith Christ makes people free.

VII

THE INFLUENCE OF THE DUTCH

THE glory with which history has crowned the influence of the Puritans and Pilgrims on American life and institutions has tended to make us somewhat neglectful of other factors of our national beginnings. We come now to speak of some of those factors—and first in time, and by no means last in importance, the Hollanders. In two directions they have made an impress on our history, namely: in their influence on the English who came to New England and their early colonization of New York and New Jersey.

And, first, their relation to us in their home on the marshes and behind the dykes. Professor Fiske calls attention to the fact that they are historically our cousins, that it is manifest in the structure of their language as well as in certain racial characteristics which ally them to the Anglo-Saxon family. But their kinship with us is of a yet deeper strain. It is most manifest in their religious inheritance. Through centuries struggling free from the worship of Woden and Thor, they at last were among the most redoubtable champions of the Reformation doctrines.

From earliest times the Dutch were a hardy race.

Their environment made them so. None of the romance of mountains and soft climate was theirs. They had to battle for a living. The forces of nature were often against them, a rigorous climate and a menacing ocean. And they were against climate and ocean. So they became hardy, self-reliant, industrious and daring. They were, therefore, prepared by circumstances to fight for liberty—civil and religious.

When Charles the Fifth began his bloody career of persecution in the Netherlands, the doctrines of the Reformation had already filtered down from the Alps and nerved the people for a united resistance. When Philip the Second, with his lieutenant, the Duke of Alva, equaled or surpassed his father's ferocity and the victims were numbered by thousands, the Hollanders stood firmly by their faith and accepted the sacrifice. Many were Lutherans who, from Germany, had received the earliest Reformation principles. Many more were Calvinists who in various ways had come under the spell of the great reformer, while many more, chiefly from among the humbler folk, were the Anabaptists or Mennonites. These all suffered for their faith, and by suffering were made strong.

The predominant strain of thought, however, was the Calvinistic. They believed in the sovereign purpose of God to establish against all opposition His Kingdom on earth. In this conviction they went on for more than two generations of witnessing for the Truth and contending for its triumph. The Prince of Orange, the savior of Holland, while in exile from his country, but still guiding her destinies, wrote to his wife:

"I have resolved to place myself in the hands of the Almighty, that He may guide me whither it is His good pleasure that I should go. I see well enough that I am destined to pass this life in misery and labor, with which I am well content since it thus pleases the Omnipotent. I only implore Him graciously to send me strength to endure with patience."

He thus expressed the mind of the suffering, yet always victorious, Hollanders. In the words of Douglas Campbell, "It was the confidence in an all-wise over-ruling Providence that led to the triumph of the Dutch Republic, nerved the arms of the Ironsides who fought with Cromwell, kept up the hopes of Washington and inspired the heart of a Lincoln and a Grant."

The example of William of Orange in maintaining absolute freedom in religion—rare in any age, unknown elsewhere in that age—exalts his name and fame as the foremost champion of religious toleration. He would tolerate those whom other Calvinists of that day found it hard to endure. Thus, the Anabaptists were a sect of many extravagances, of occasional immorality and, as they conceived it, of literal obedience to the commands of Christ. Even Zwingli thought their doctrines worthy of death. Some of the magistrates of some of the Dutch cities were in favor of invoking the law against them. But William of Orange was an impregnable bulwark of defense against all who would invade the sanctity of conscience. In these words he rebuked the magistrates: "We declare to you, therefore, that you have no right to trouble your-

selves with any man's conscience so long as nothing is done to cause private harm or public scandal."

When these memorable words were uttered the world was in ferments of revolution and reformation. In England the doctrines of the reformers were making headway that unsettled the throne, but nowhere were any words spoken or position maintained more enlightened and noble as the words and actions of William of Orange. They were the precursors of words and actions which heralded a revolution in Great Britain and a new world of liberty in America.

Let us now consider the directions of that stream of reformation life which made Holland so large a factor in the religious life of the new world. When the persecutions of Alva were at their height in the Netherlands, and men and women by the thousand were suffering for their faith, a refuge was opened in the eastern counties of England. The new ideas were already potent in that part of the kingdom, and the fleeing Dutch were not without welcome when in large numbers they went into the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. These counties were early the strongholds of democratic and Puritan ideas. In the west the High Church and the Tory party were in the ascendant. Oxford was their headquarters. But in the east the new principles were strongly lodged in Cambridge University and thence down to the homes and lives of the common people. This district furnished the backbone of Cromwell's army.

The influence of the Dutch, especially on those eastern counties of England, was thus very pronounced.

The Netherlanders carried with them their thrift as well as their reformation principles, and this enriched the kingdom alike in industrial and religious ways. Between 1560 and 1570, under the pressure of the persecuting régime of Philip the Second, the exodus of Dutch and Flemish reached its height. Flemish refugees numbered in 1562 at least thirty thousand. Dutch and Walloons it is said in many of the English ports constituted one-third of the population. They seem to have been advanced beyond British artisans in a variety of occupations. They taught the English the manufacture of cloth, thread, lace, silk and paper. The steel and iron works of Sheffield owed their inception to these skilled immigrants. They advanced the art of making glass beyond anything the English had known. They raised the standard of living, infusing some of their domestic ideas of cleanliness and home-making into the more inert circles of the middle and lower classes of people.

But, above all, they brought into the formal and lifeless life of the Anglican Church the intellectual tonic and spiritual power of the doctrines which, flowing down from the Alps, had enriched the common people of Holland with the treasures of the gospel. When then the time came for the tide of immigration, impelled by persecution, to flow in the opposite direction, the English colony which went to Amsterdam and Leyden carried back to its source the principles which had unshackled them. They had learned Puritanism from Holland, and they carried it back to its native land that, transplanted there awhile, it might be strong

enough to cross the ocean. It crossed in the "Mayflower," upon whose decks there was thus a commingling of English and Dutch religious inheritance.

But we now come to consider the more direct Christian contact of the Dutch with America in the movements of Dutch people to effect settlements on these shores. Of course, the name of Henry Hudson comes first into view. It is true he was not a Dutchman, but an Englishman. Nevertheless he was a large factor in the first occupation of this country by Netherland people. He had been an explorer, had gone farther toward the North Pole than any other sailor. The Dutch East India Company, just formed, was emulous to outdo the British and the Spaniards in transatlantic voyages. They had become aware of the treasures across seas. Who better to promote their interests than this intrepid Englishman who already knew something of the American coast? Besides, it was worth their while to take him away from the British navy. How they got him is not known. It is uncertain whether he had ever been in Holland. He knew little of the people, and the language not at all. But he yielded to their persuasions and entered their service.

The common conception that it was he who discovered the great river that bears his name has been called a fallacy. Others had seen it before him. Verrazzano, the great French navigator, eighty-five years before Hudson, gave an account of the entrance to the Hudson River so specific and detailed as to make it plain that the river he entered was indeed the Hudson. Still, he saw only the bay. He never explored the

river. That honor remains attached to the name of Hudson. The river, therefore, is properly named.

It was the third of September, 1609, that the "Half Moon," Hudson's little craft, which for six months had been buffeted by Atlantic waves, dropped anchor in the lower bay. The mate's journal records that "the people of the country came aboard of us, seeming very glad of our coming and brought greene tobacco and gave us of it for knives and beads. They go in deer skins, loose, well-dressed. They desire clothes and are very civil." This civility, however, seems to have been deceptive, for the "Half Moon" in its passage up the river was saluted again and again with flights of arrows. The sailors answered with musket shots, thus preparing for more serious hostility.

New York was now occupied by the Dutch. A little later, when the West India Company had further developed the material advantages of Dutch connection with the American coast, the States General of Holland awoke to the desirability of strengthening Protestantism in its struggle with Spain by establishing a Protestant state in the new world. But at the beginning it was wholly a question of the profit there was in beaver, mink and otter skins. God's Providence, however, had larger designs.

Three great nations were vying with each other for possession of the new world. Spain had extended her domain along the southern borders to the heights of Santa Fe and the shores of the Pacific. France had established her outposts from Quebec to the Missis-

sippi. The Pilgrims were not due for eleven years, but a handful of English colonists was camping at the mouth of the James River. And now a few Dutch sailors were building huts on Manhattan Island. To one who should have regarded events with the eye that sees only human battalions, the cause of Protestantism in the new world would have appeared hopeless. It was probable that Spanish priests and soldiers would hold the southern half of North America. It was probable French Lilies would control the northern half. It seemed inevitable, if the forces of Romanism in Spain and France should combine, that the Protestant settlers at the James and on Manhattan and in New England would be ground to dust between an upper and nether millstone.

And the strange and romantic thing about these conflicts from 1609 on is that the Indians, whom all the parties regarded with suspicion or hatred, should have been the factor determining that not France, but Holland and England, should control American destinies, because the powerful Iroquois nation, the deadly enemy of France, became the ally of the Dutch. Thus, indirectly the little Protestant company in Manhattan had a share in the fall of Quebec and the destruction of French claims in the new world. As John Fiske says:

"Had the Iroquois been the allies of the French, it would in all probability have been Louis the Fourteenth and not Charles the Second who would have taken New Amsterdam from the Dutch. Had the Iroquois not been the deadly enemies of the French, Louis the Four-

teenth would almost certainly have taken New York from the English."

So strangely did God protect His great purpose for the American continent. That which in the first instance was only an exploring expedition, undertaken for the purpose of finding a northwest passage to China, became the determining event which should shape the world's greatest adventure for free government and free religion.

For several years nothing further transpired to indicate Dutch influence in the colonial enterprise. But in 1613 a company of Walloons, or French-speaking Hollanders, came over and settled near Albany. They had suffered the extremes of persecution among the Flemish subjects of Philip, so they were driven from their homes and found a refuge among the freer Netherlanders. But, longing for a country they could call their own, they were glad to avail themselves of the chance to emigrate to America. Later, other companies, driven by persecution or allured by the report of fair prospects, which began to find their way to Europe, settled in Delaware and Long Island, and finally in Manhattan. In 1626 the island was a village of thirty houses and two hundred souls.

Up to this time there had been no minister among them nor, so far as known, any religious services. While the West India Company was making liberal provision for the occupancy of the land up the river, and colonists from Holland were besought to avail themselves of liberal provisions, the Company and the

people of Manhattan yet largely conceived their relation to the new world in the terms of commercial advantage. Furs and pelts still bulked so large in the eyes of Dutch merchants as to obscure for a considerable time those higher interests for which the Pilgrims and Puritans had already become conspicuous. These brought ministers and teachers with them. Their first assemblies were town meetings in the interest of popular government.

Not so on Manhattan. The thrifty Dutch were thrifty first. They awoke later to the higher concerns on which alone a free government could be established. So far as there is a difference between the New England colonies and the Dutch, to the disadvantage of the latter, it is probably to be traced to the fact that the great West India Company was not primarily in the business of free institutions, either civil or religious, but in the business of large dividends for stockholders. The director general, charged with the government of the colony, was the servant of the Company and responsible to them. In such circumstances the people who, like the Puritans, came from a land where freedom was struggling for a victory had in their new condition little chance to develop the principles for which in their home-land they had been fighting. Not readily could they erect themselves above the commercial atmosphere in which they had been set down.

Gradually, however, the ideas which Dutch settlers had brought with them from the Hague revealed themselves on the banks of the Hudson. Those who

had fought under William of Orange, or for the cause in which he suffered, could not always be content to be appendages to mercantile enterprise. The blood that was in them would assert itself.

So it came to pass that "Nine Men of New Amsterdam," chosen to assist the director general "when called upon" in providing for the general welfare, addressed a memorial to the States General in Holland asking that they be freed from the West India Company and attached directly to the States General and that a free municipal government be given them instead of the rule of the director general. They had seen with keen appreciation the prosperity of the colony on Massachusetts Bay. They had recognized the elements of its strength. They were conscious of a similar Christian inheritance and saw no reason why similar prosperity in matters civil and religious might not be their portion also.

Stuyvesant was at that time director general. He did not propose to surrender any of his prerogatives without a contest. The West India Company was, of course, averse to the popular petition of the "Nine Men." That Company was powerful enough to check the States General, and the petition was therefore granted only in part. The colonists might have some share in municipal government, but the Director should remain as the representative of the Company. However, after sundry contests and much ill-feeling, the "Nine Men," with Dutch obstinacy, kept up their protests until, in 1655, New Amsterdam was incorporated as a city. Thence begins the real prosperity of the

colony. Free government was slowly, but surely, coming to its own.

For some reason, somewhat difficult to divine, religious toleration was not at first practiced on Manhattan Island. Though the colonists had learned that lesson at home, the fruits of it did not seem to bear transplanting. There was some ill-treatment of Quakers and Baptists. Lutherans were denied permission to build a church. This wave of old-country intolerance soon, however, subsided under pressure of adverse public opinion. As the immigation increased and freer government prevailed, New Amsterdam was conspicuous for its toleration not only, but for the welcome it gave to all comers of whatever creed. So Huguenots came from France, Waldenses from Piedmont, Presbyterians from Scotland, Independents from England, and even Moravians, Mennonites, Anabaptists and Jews from various lands of the old world where the fires of persecution were burning, found a welcome among the Dutch.

In 1657 a Quaker by the name of Townsend was arrested for holding a meeting in his home in Flushing and ordered to be fined, and in default of payment to be flogged and banished. This order encountered such opposition from the officers of the town that, instead of enforcing it, they framed a charter of religious liberty in the following magnificent words:

"The law of love, peace, and liberty, extending in the state to Jews, Turks, and Egyptians, forms the true glory of Holland; so love, peace, and liberty, extending to all in Christ Jesus, condemn hatred, strife, and

bondage. But inasmuch as the Saviour hath said that it is impossible that scandal shall not come, but woe until him by whom it cometh, we desire not to offend one of His little ones, under whatever form, name, or title he appear, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist, or Quaker. . . . Should any of these people come in love amongst us, therefore, we cannot in conscience lay violent hands on them. We shall give them free ingress and egress to our houses, as God shall persuade our consciences."

The persecuting policy which thus brought discredit on the colony should, however, not be charged to the people themselves. The attitude of the Flushing officials is sufficient proof of this. The West India Company was responsible for it. It was one of their rules that only Dutch Calvinistic churches should be tolerated. As we have stated, other sects were for a while refused permission to organize. But this was the act of the Company. The mind of the people was against it. Stuyvesant had been too zealous for Dutch Calvinism or too subservient to the powerful Company. The Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce took note of the complaints against the action of the Director and sent him a letter of censure which ended with these memorable words:

"The consciences of men ought to be free and unshackled, so long as they continue moderate, peaceable, inoffensive, and not hostile to government. Such have been the maxims of prudence and toleration by which the magistrates of this city have been governed; and the consequences have been, that the oppressed and persecuted from every country have found among us an

asylum from distress. Follow in the same steps, and you will be blest."

In 1660 many villages were established by refugees from Europe, by Waldenses, Huguenots and Mennonites. It was at this time that Stuyvesant, having experienced some conversion, wrote to the company:

"It would be highly desirable that the yet waste land which might feed a hundred thousand inhabitants should be settled and cultivated by the oppressed, on the one side, by the Roman Catholics in France, Savoy, Piedmont and elsewhere, and other by the Turks in Hungary and upon the confines of Germany."

These were liberal words, even in this twentieth century. Lists of immigrants have come to light showing that even in the seventeenth century New York had a cosmopolitan population, embracing people from many parts of France, from Prussia, Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland, Norway and Denmark, as well as from the Netherlands. Even then, more than half a score of languages were spoken within its borders.

We come now to the early church history of the colony. We must go back to 1624, when the first Director General began his career—Peter Minuit. Possessed of well-nigh absolute authority, he organized a peaceful and prosperous state of some three hundred souls in settlements extending from Delaware Bay to Albany, and eastward across Long Island and to the Connecticut River. One of his first orders was that all land for settlement should be fairly purchased from the Indians. Thirty small log cabins along the water

front constituted the village. More substantial buildings were soon erected out of the stone which, during these centuries, has risen from quarries into stately structures. The first meeting place for public worship was the loft of a grist-mill, in whose tower a chime of bells, captured in Porto Rico, called the worshipers to the service. The people sat on rude benches, while in the absence of any minister a layman read the Creed and the Scriptures.

In 1628 Jonas Michaelius came over from Holland and became the first minister of the colony. He was educated in the public schools, for which even at that time Holland was noted, and was a graduate of the University of Leyden. He was a pastor for a few years in his native land, and after missionary experiences in Africa and South America found a field for conspicuous service on Manhattan Island.

In a short time he gathered a Dutch Reformed Church of fifty communicants. He was followed in 1633 by the Rev. Everard Bogardus, and with him came a schoolmaster, the first one on the Island. This school, established only five years after the arrival of the first minister, is claimed to have been the only school where elementary instruction for both sexes was secured out of the public money. Later the New Amsterdam pulpit had the services of Dominie Megapolensis, who is accused of having, in addition to ability to preach deep sermons, a fine taste for hunting heretics. It was during his régime that there occurred cases of persecution which disgraced the early history of the colony. These, however, were neither so numerous

nor so aggravated as those which darkened the early New England history.

It is absurd, however, for historians to claim for any colonies absolute exemption from the infirmity incident to the seventeenth century. Toleration has ever been a plant of slow growth. Even in later years there have been many enlightened men who have attributed toleration to indifference and maintained that persecution was the ultimate logic of loyalty to the Truth. If we cared enough for the Truth we would save people from error at the expense of their comfort or even of their lives. It is not to be wondered at that such mediæval logic should have persisted in later times and that those who in Britain or the Continent had known of no other interpretation of loyalty to the Truth should have felt the pressure of it in the new world.

So Puritans in New England, and Cavaliers in Virginia, and Dutchmen on Manhattan sometimes applied forces other than argument to win or compel the erring from their ways. While this much may, therefore, be conceded, and while the claims of Dutch enthusiasts that Hollanders in America were wholly free from the temptation to force orthodoxy on reluctant minds need to be shaded, it can be historically maintained that there was more freedom of opinion on Manhattan Island that in either Massachusetts or Virginia. It was, in the main, the buffer colony, where Quakers and Baptists and Mennonites were free from the penalties inflicted both north and south.

It must, however, be conceded that Dutch thrift was

more in evidence during the first decades of the colonial history than a missionary purpose to establish in the new world the Reformation doctrines which were the glory of the mother country. The growth of the Church scarce kept pace with the increase of population. Dr. Leonard W. Bacon, in his "History of American Christianity," says:

"Nineteen years from the beginning of the colony there was only one church in the whole extent of it. At the end of thirty years there were only two churches." Education, he states, was equally neglected. "After ten years of settlement the first schoolmaster arrived and after thirty-six years a Latin school was begun, for want of which up to that time young men seeking a classical education had to go to Boston for it."

If the Dutch settlers were thus slow in founding educational institutions, it surely was not the genius of the nation, for Holland easily led Europe in the school advantages of its common people—a land where, as Motley says, "every child went to school, where almost every individual inhabitant could read and write, where even the middle classes were proficient in mathematics and the classics and could speak two or more modern languages."

If, as Douglas Campbell maintains in his book on "The Puritans in Holland, England and America," the Puritans learned that devotion to learning which made Massachusetts remarkable from their relations with the Dutch, it is passing strange that the Dutch themselves in coming to the new world were slow in proving their intellectual heritage. It finds explana-

tion in that which has come in these days sometimes to bear hard on the cultivation of letters—the absorption in material things. And the Dutch had far more excuse for it than we have now. They had a wilderness to subdue, government to form and savages to watch. It is claimed by Mr. Campbell to be the glory of the Dutch and an answer to their critics, that the first absolutely free school in America, open to all and supported by the government, came from them. There were partly free schools in New England, but for a time a tax was laid on those who could afford tuition. The first free school in Virginia seems to have been founded by an individual.

The free school in Manhattan, however, appears to have been local and for the convenience of the Dutch burghers of the metropolis rather than the outgrowth of an educational policy. O'Callaghan, in his "History of the New Netherlands," says: "Though a college had been founded in Massachusetts some nine years before, the authorities of New Netherlands made little or no effort to establish a common primary school in any part of this country," and that only a small minority of the population could read or write. Only on the assumption that, while there was a free school on Manhattan Island the colonists made no provision for a free-school system for every community, can this conflict of authorities be reconciled.

In so far as the free-school system was slow in developing, it may, in part at least, be explained by the lack of self-government in the early period of colonization. A community thrown, like that at Massachusetts

Bay, absolutely on its own resources will early develop all that is needed for public safety and progress. Education will come swiftly to those in whose blood is the inheritance of it.

But the New Netherlands were governed from abroad. Theirs was a patristic government. The mother country would take care of them, and, the West India Company would see to them. That Company had no interest in education. Their concern was dividends. Plymouth had a town meeting before it left the cabin of the "Mayflower." Manhattan knew nothing of this. Public matters were left to the Company; in its absence to the director general. It is true that the Company awoke at last to the necessity of attention to the growth of the colony. Even for commercial reasons it could not be permitted to be stationary. Families must be invited, land must be cultivated, homes must be established, community life must be fostered.

So a charter was issued in 1629, giving a liberal land-grant to anyone who should bring fifty families into the colony. The "patroon," as the person was called who should avail himself of this privilege, was absolute lord proprietor of the land thus granted. The people he brought over should be his tenants or servants. In every case the Indians should be paid a proper price for the lands so occupied. The Company perceived the imperative need of something more than dividends for their stock. The charter recommended that prompt provision should be made for the support of a parson and a schoolmaster, "that thus the service of God and

the zeal for religion may not grow cool and be neglected among them."

It was time the West India Company waked up. They had a population of three hundred souls on the island and no provision for either education or religion. But the better element of Dutch population had not yet come to America. When they began to arrive in the latter part of the seventeenth century there was a distinct rise, both of morals and of free government, and before the colony passed over to the English, churches and schools had begun to flourish.

Although from 1640 the Dutch found themselves in increasing troubles, first with the Indians and then with the English—troubles which grew graver until 1664, when Manhattan finally passed into the hands of the English—the growth of free government and free institutions gradually redeemed the colony from the paternal government of the director general and the commercial government of the West India Company. For while it is true, as Hallam says, that the Hollanders' self-government goes beyond any assignable date, it is also true that it was late in arriving in America. It arrived, however, and then the Reformed Church took on vigor and a measure of progress. It never was noted for aggressive missionary propaganda; it never did much for the conversion of Indians; but it developed strong characters whose influence was potent alike in church and state, and it founded institutions which to this day express the high Christian purpose of an independent, intelligent and liberty-loving people.

It was now 1664. The time had come when the purpose of Providence seemed to require that the relatively provincial settlements along the Hudson and on Long Island should become part of that larger population which, scattered from Maine to the Carolinas, should ultimately constitute the Federal Union. For a number of years there had been friction between the Dutch and the English. When Massachusetts Pilgrims sought a freer atmosphere in what afterward became the State of Connecticut, they found the Dutch colonists building a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River. Later, these Pilgrims went into Long Island and in Westchester, even to the Hudson. In various ways the Manhattan people sought to check what they conceived to be encroachments.

The English, however, claimed that King James' original charter gave them everything from the thirty-fourth parallel to the forty-fifth degree. It is true that in the charter of 1620 the king declared that no land was in it granted that was already occupied by any other Christian prince or estate. This provision, the Dutch claimed, would shut the English out of New York. Was not Manhattan occupied by a Christian estate? But the reply was that the occupancy of so small an island could not avail against a charter, the purpose of which was to establish an English-speaking nation from Florida to the St. Lawrence.

Acting on this reply, an expedition was organized and dispatched to America under command of Colonel Richard Niccolls. Going first to Massachusetts and then to Connecticut to secure the aid of more troops,

they turned south and suddenly appeared in the Lower Bay. Director Stuyvesant sputtered and argued with the courteous Colonel Niccolls, but to no avail. He strove to enlist Manhattan to fly to its own defense, but in vain. Why should they shed blood—their own or anybody's? Their handful of people, within poor defenses, were no match for disciplined British troops. So, protesting and raging, old "Wooden Leg," as the Director was called, pulled down the Dutch colors and the Union Jack went up.

A peaceful revolution had been accomplished. History shows it to have been in the interest of the unity of the nation, and one of the preliminary steps by which Spain disappeared from our lower borders and France from our upper lines, and an American union began a career which should reach from ocean to ocean and from Canada to the Gulf.

The Dutch, however, remained not only in undisturbed peace, but in happy relations with their English neighbors. The Episcopal Church, of course, came in; but that made no trouble. The two Churches alternated services in the building of the Dutch Church. Of course, the English rapidly took the lead; but the marks of the strong Dutch life were too deeply engraven to be rubbed out. To this day—in names and churches and people—they remain a virile part of the most cosmopolitan city on earth. It began as a cosmopolite even in the days of Peter Minuit. One could go from Boston to the Harlem and hear no tongue but English. But once across that river the Babel began which, with increasing emphasis, it has continued to

be. Could Peter Minuit or old Stuyvesant have foreseen the avalanche of polyglot people sweeping into our gates he would have despaired of its future. Some people even now regard with apprehension the fact that there are larger foreign cities within the great city than the largest cities of the nations whence they came. To the historic spirit the apprehension is groundless. National varieties properly trained work toward national strength. We may, therefore, trust that liberal temper which came hither from Holland, which there characterized the population beyond any other country in Europe and which has remained the honor and glory of the metropolis of the world.

VIII

THE INFLUENCE OF THE QUAKERS

IN 1660 George Fox began his plans for a colony in America. His plan, however, was the flower of seeds of religious liberty which had been germinating for a century. The Quakers—or to recognize them by their official title, "The Religious Society of Friends"—came to their vision of the harmony of inward religion and outer life as the result of the general religious awakening which was agitating inquiring minds in England and on the Continent.

The Anabaptists and Mennonites who in Holland and Germany suffered extreme penalties for their devotion to the Truth were the precursors of the Quaker movement. The dead formalism and the persecuting ecclesiasticism which everywhere characterized the life of the churches had aroused the common people to a longing for spiritual life which the Church had failed to supply. On the one hand was churchism, which, according to the Roman pattern, magnified the Church as an organization within which alone true religion was to be found; on the other hand, the formulation of theological systems hard and fast, within which alone was the Truth to be found.

These two tendencies broke up the Reformation ranks into conflicting sects, between whose contentions

the poor seeking souls were hopelessly lost. It was time for a new evangel, for a declaration in some form that essential godliness consisted neither in forms nor prescriptions, neither in genuflections of the body nor in gymnastics of the mind. The hunger of the heart refused to be satisfied either by cathedrals or creeds. This hunger found expression in the rise of sects influenced in every case by devout motives, but frequently led by the very vigor of their enthusiasm into vagaries of thought and conduct. Back of these vagaries, however, was the longing for righteousness and fellowship with the Divine which could find no satisfaction in existing institutions or creeds.

Into this turmoil of half-formed opinion and of passionate and sometimes blind longing came the founder of the Quaker sect. He was the son of a man who, on account of his sterling character, was nicknamed "Righteous Christer." From his childhood he was remarkable for strong religious feelings which sometimes separated him from his schoolmates. His relatives wanted him educated for the ministry, but his father finally decided for him a business career and apprenticed him to a shoemaker. He continued at this trade for but a short time. Distressed by spiritual conditions he saw about him, he broke off fellowship with his family and wandered about in great perplexity and distress of mind. He traveled up and down without definite purpose other than to voice a protest against the sins and follies of the times. He considered himself a stranger on the earth going, as he said, "Which way the Lord inclined my heart."

In 1649, in Nottingham, he attended a service at which the preacher announced doctrines so at variance with his experience that he was moved to rise in the congregation and cry out against them. Doctrines, he said, should be judged not by Scriptures alone but also by the divine light in the soul. This was too plain-spoken for those times. He was promptly carried off to jail. Many imprisonments followed, for the daring preacher kept up his protests wherever he could find an audience. While in various prisons he was busy with his pen and sent forth doctrines of an "Inner Light" which have since become the vital principle of the Quakers.

In 1671 his restless spirit carried him to Barbadoes and to Jamaica and then to the American continent. After many missionary labors he returned to England and suffered fourteen months of captivity in the Worcester prison.

In 1677 he, with William Penn and others, visited Holland and other countries on the Continent, laying foundations for the extensive missionary work in the old world and the new. He was a man of a mystical religious experience, a strong personality, possessing, in an eminent degree, powers of conviction and persuasion and, as his comrade Penn said, "civil beyond all forms of breeding."

A man of such supreme devotion to the Truth as he conceived it, and with personal magnetism and enthusiasm, he soon gathered about him a large company of like-minded souls on whom was beginning to shine "the Light that lighteth every man that cometh

into the world." In the joy of it, many of them went joyously to their death. The blood of the martyrs was productive seed. The doctrine of the inward light spread rapidly.

The conditions which determined the rise and influence of the new doctrine in Europe were also to be found in the American colonies. Before ever any Quakers landed on the shores of the new world there were numbers of people, in New England especially, who were becoming dissatisfied with the tendencies of religion in those colonies. They were becoming conscious of an obscuring of the high and single motives which inspired the Pilgrims, conscious that the principles of religious liberty which these incorporated in the charter they signed had become dimmed in the life of the churches. Ecclesiasticism was putting clamps on the religious life, and doctrinal tenets were fettering souls which would walk in the freedom wherewith Christ sets His people free.

So it came to pass that before the middle of the seventeenth century there were little groups of unorganized, often unnamed, people in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Long Island who were longing for a higher life which should have more power to control daily conduct than they found in the prevailing attitude of the churches. When, therefore, the Quakers came into the colonies they came into an atmosphere already quivering with religious excitement. The Puritans were growing in theology. Giants among them were leading them into religious metaphysics. Conflicting camps were established. Those who found

themselves in an attitude of protest against these theological tendencies were, for the most part, humble, unlettered people quite unable to contend successfully with the masters of thought, but these Separatists, Baptists, Mennonites and Quakers could protest against a formalism which denied the vitality and immediacy of personal religious experience. That little company, without organization or leadership, living hunted and persecuted lives in their new surroundings, fleeing from one refuge to another, were destined to exert an influence on the life of the colonies and, finally, on the Republic, far beyond anything that their numbers or their station in life could have predicted. They formulated no creed, but three outstanding principles indicated the road they would travel. These were subscription to no creed and no liturgy: no priesthood, or sacraments: and the equal place and responsibility of women.

We have made passing reference to the story of Anne Hutchinson and the "Antinomian controversy" connected with her name. This controversy came near disrupting the Massachusetts colony. She had come to Boston in 1632. She was a woman, as John Winthrop said, "of ready wit and bold spirit." But, more than that, she was a woman of deep spiritual experience which, whatever may have been its peculiarities, she was ready to defend at any cost. She early began to preach her doctrine of an immediate divine influence on the soul—a good introduction for the Quakers when they should come.

Between her and the clergy of the colony the issue was between a direct acquaintance with Christ by spiritual communion with Him and, on the other hand, a legal system of religion in which the Holy Scriptures are the full and final expression of God's will and all that relates to life and salvation and that, therefore, the experiment of spiritual religion based on direct communion is to be discounted and distrusted.

The two phrases common in the theological lore of that day were the " covenant of grace " and the " covenant of works." According to Mrs. Hutchinson and John Cotton and others of like mind, Christ reveals Himself directly to the human soul. On the other hand, the covenant of works is one in which the soul is justified by obedience to terms prescribed in Holy Writ. For preaching her doctrine Anne Hutchinson was called before the court, where her doctrine was condemned and she was imprisoned. Later she was excommunicated from the company of the church. She took refuge in Rhode Island—the refuge of so many persecuted saints.

There was so much in common between her views and the Quaker ideas that it would be almost a matter of course that any Quakers coming to the colony would be accorded similar treatment. The test soon came. In 1656 two lone women, Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, came to Boston from Barbadoes, where they had been preaching the new doctrines. The fire of the new revelation was burning in their souls and they began at once, in Salem, to proclaim their doctrine of spiritual

light. John Fiske thus gives the ideal with which the Quakers came to the colony:

"The Christianity of the Quakers was freed from Judaism as far as was possible. The Quaker aimed at complete separation between church and state; the government of Massachusetts was patterned after the ancient Jewish theocracy in which church and state were identified. The Quaker was tolerant of differences in doctrine; the Calvinist regarded such tolerance as a deadly sin. For these reasons the arrival of a few Quakers in Boston in 1656 was considered an act of invasion and treated as such."

These two helpless women were brought into court, condemned and ordered to leave the colony. On August fifth they sailed out of Boston Harbor, but two days later a ship carrying eight Quakers sailed in. They also were arrested, kept for weeks in close confinement and shortly thereafter, while those eight Quakers were still in prison, the General Court of Massachusetts passed its first law against the Quakers, whom it declared to be "a cursed set of heretics who take upon themselves to be immediately sent of God and infallibly assisted by the Spirit."

Fiske says:

"The law impressed a fine of one hundred pounds upon any master of a sailing craft who should bring a Quaker to the colony, and a fine of five pounds upon any one who should bring into the jurisdiction any Quaker book or conceal one in his house. It was further enacted that if by any means a Quaker should

make his way into the colony, he should be arrested, whipped, committed to the house of correction, kept constantly at work and prevented from having conversation with any one until he was once more out of the jurisdiction."

There does not seem to have been at the time this law was passed any great necessity for such enactments—so straight in the face of all the Puritans stood for and in defense of which they had sought the new world. Even if the Quakers were dangerous, they were too few in numbers or influence to constitute a serious menace. Still, the colonists would provide against future contingencies. And the contingencies were on the way, for in 1657 the Lord mightily impressed on one Robert Fowler the divine will that he should build a ship and carry Quakers to a land where they might have freedom to worship God in their own way. It was a poor little craft, but Fowler was sure that the God who guided the Ark to Ararat would guide his boat to some good haven, of which he knew no more than Noah knew of the harbor on Ararat.

It was a brave little company that thus adventured on the stormy Atlantic. Some of them had already experienced the rigors of an unfriendly church in England. Some of them were well educated; others had little intellectual development, but all had fiery souls. This second "Mayflower" brought a company as sure of a divine call as were the Pilgrims and as ready to do and suffer in obeying it. After the usual experiences of small vessels in northern seas, and

after some comforting revelations that they should find a goodly land, "that the seed in America should be as the sand of the sea," they found themselves on Long Island Sound and a little later at anchor at New Amsterdam. A few of the company elected to remain there, while the rest pushed on to Newport. Rhode Island, even at that early date, had the honor of being a refuge. The presence of the Quakers soon became known to the authorities, who, however, were standing so firmly by their principles that they wrote to the agent of the colony seeking for a charter from the English government "that we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences." And then they go on to give the reason thus: "We have a new occasion because a sort of people called by the name of Quaker have come amongst us and have raised up diverse who seem at present to be of their spirit."

Was their missionary zeal thus early bearing fruit? Or were they not rather, as we have intimated, come to a prepared land where their essential views had appeared among many people in advance of their coming? Among those to welcome the newcomers was Mary Dyer, who, after suffering imprisonment in Boston, had escaped to Rhode Island and was soon recognized as a leader in the little colony. The spread of the new doctrine was instantaneous. Large numbers flocked to the meetings. In a few years a yearly "Meeting" was established, attended by Friends from various parts of New England, which continues to the present day, under the title "The Yearly Meeting for Friends in New England."

Up to that time the Puritan colonies had no use for Rhode Island. They refused its request that it might be a member of the Union of New England Colonies. It was a lawless sect, with whom it were well to have no fellowship. But now they were troubled lest the growth of new ideas in Rhode Island might spread to other realms and, in fact, even to the proper people of Boston Bay. Therefore, a petition was sent to Rhode Island begging them to do something to keep the Quakers from overrunning the adjacent parts. And this is their appeal:

"To preserve us from such a pest, the contagion of which within your colony were dangerous, we request that you take such order herein that your neighbors may be freed from that danger; that you remove those Quakers that have been received and for the future prohibit their coming amongst you."

And this from the Puritans of Massachusetts! The answer to this strange appeal was a stout affirmation of the freedom of conscience, declaring that they had no law to punish any "for only declaring by words their minds and understandings concerning the things and ways of God." So Quakers were to be safe in Rhode Island. The queer thing about it all is that at least some of the Quakers enjoyed persecution. Thus, the records of the colony contain these words, "We find that in those places where these people aforesaid in this colony are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely and are only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come."

Thus, the visionaries hunting persecution and Puritans who had defied the authority of governments, afraid of visionaries, are equally the humor of history.

The missionary labors of this handful of enthusiastic (or shall we say inspired?) souls whom the "Woodhouse" brought over remind one of the Acts of the Apostles. Though they knew that everywhere stripes and imprisonment awaited them, they were so undaunted as to be charged with courting opposition and persecution. Two of them went to Martha's Vineyard where, many years before, the Mayhews had carried on missionary work among the Indians. There they met the hostility of the white settlers and the friendship of the Christian Indians, who said: "You are strangers, and the Lord has taught us to love strangers." With what triumphant devotion they pursued their labors and met their rebuffs is indicated in a letter from one of them who, like an old prophet, exclaims, "The Lord God of hosts is with us, the shout of a King is amongst us, the people fear our God."

The new light which John Robinson announced to the Pilgrims on the eve of their departure from Holland has an illustration in the fact that his son, Isaac Robinson, was sent by the General Court of Plymouth to attend Quaker meetings to get evidence against and "reduce them from the error of their ways," when as a result of the meetings he himself was converted, joined the Quaker colony and made of Falmouth a center of the Friends' propaganda.

It will be remembered that Salem was the first camping ground of the Puritans. It will also be recalled

that in that town Roger Williams revealed the "more light" that in so many quarters was breaking out. He was far enough from being a Quaker, but he stood as staunchly as did those mystics for freedom of conscience, for non-interference in religious matters and for absolute separation of church and state. He therefore prepared a seed plot for the doctrines of Quakers who came to Salem in 1657 and, of course, planted their seed of gospel truth. And with the usual penalties.

Meeting first privately in their houses, the little company conceived the time had come when they should make an open avowal of their faith. One of their number went to the public service on the Sabbath day and, after the minister had concluded, rose to give his message. He did not get far. His mouth was violently stopped, he was ejected from the Puritan church and carried away to prison to receive the usual reward for plain speaking in that land of the free. Nine weeks in a cell in a New England winter, with no fire, was the penalty imposed, and the lashes on the naked back, repeated day by day, aggregated three hundred fifty-seven!

The penalties visited upon the Quakers at that time seem now almost incredible. Thus, to placate their opponents they issued a "Declaration on Truth and Scriptures" so orthodox and harmless that it were difficult for even the most bigoted to find in it any cause for offense. It reads like a paragraph from the Westminster Confession of Faith. But for even the possession of this conciliatory document, one Cassan-

dra Southwick was kept seven weeks a prisoner and fined forty shillings. The Southwicks were a grave and aged couple, but they were driven from one refuge to another and finally banished entirely from the colony. Their children were ordered to be sold into slavery, but no shipmaster could be found to execute the sentence. In sublime patience they wrote from their prison in Boston these words, worthy to be counted a Quaker Confession of Faith:

"For our part we have true peace and rest in the Lord in all our sufferings and are made willing, in the power and strength of God, freely to offer up our lives in this cause of God for which we suffer. Yea, and we do find through grace the enlargement of God in our imprisoned estate, to Whom alone we commit ourselves and families for the disposing of us according to His infinite wisdom and pleasure in Whose love is our rest and life."

That we may see to what extent of cruelty our Puritan champions of religious liberty went, it should be mentioned that in 1657 a new law against "the cursed sect of Quakers" went into effect. On anyone bringing a Quaker into the colony a fine of one hundred pounds was imposed. Any Quaker having once suffered punishment and been sent away, if he ventured to return should have an ear cropped; for a second offense he should lose the other ear; for a third offense he should have his tongue bored with a hot iron. If the offender was a woman she should be severely whipped and, on a second offense, have her tongue bored.

But the saddest part of this story of persecution and the darkest blot on the Puritans needs yet to be told. When Governor Endicott and others responsible for the government of the colony perceived how futile to repress the enthusiasm of the Quakers were the punishments already inflicted, they decided to carry their purposes to the ultimate—not, probably, with the thought of making use of the death penalty, but rather with the hope that the threatening of it would turn the Quakers aside from their crusade of faith. If so, they miscalculated the fire in the spirit of those suffering saints.

It was in 1658 that the law condemning Quakers to banishment on pain of death was passed in the House of Deputies, by a majority of one. The clergy, it is said, were chiefly responsible for this odious law, the laity from the first making protest against it or yielding a forced acquiesence in its brutal terms. Let us hope that the people generally believed the law would be a dead letter and would serve its purpose to keep the "cursed sect" out of the colony. If such a hope was cherished, it was doomed to disappointment. It miscalculated the martyr spirit, which one may call a fanaticism, but which, for all that, was as heroic as any the annals of persecution afford.

We pass rapidly over the too painful story. In September, 1659, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson and Mary Dyer were arrested, tried and condemned. Each left pathetic testimony that they were moved solely by the will of God. Thus, Mary Dyer wrote:

" Do you think you can restrain those whom you call 'cursed Quakers' by anything you can do to them? God hath a seed here among you for whom we have suffered and yet suffer and the Lord of the harvest will send more laborers to gather this seed."

So, with firm step they walked to the gallows erected by the people who had come to Salem to escape just such penalties. At the last moment Mary Dyer was reprieved. Indeed, it was staged that she should be reprieved if the gallows did not make her recant. She was sent away to Rhode Island, but in a short time, sore pressed in spirit that she must give her life for the Truth, she returned to Boston and was promptly executed for her faith. As her lifeless body swayed in the wind a man from Boston said, jestingly, " She hangs there as a flag," and Rufus M. Jones, the historian of the Quakers, remarks:

" She did hang as a flag. She was a sign and symbol of deathless loyalty, and it was a sign which the wayfaring man could read. Her death showed, as did also the death of the other martyrs, that, whether right or wrong in their fundamental beliefs, a people had come to these shores who were not to be turned aside by any dangers or terrors which mortal man could devise, who were pledged to loyalty to the voice of God in their souls and ready to follow it, even though it took them to the hardest suffering and death. Every martyr was thus in truth a flag."

Only one other Quaker, William Leddra of Barbadoes, had the honor of martyrdom for his faith. He

died, as did the others, not in submission but in exalted triumph. Urged to recant, these were his challenging words: "What, act so that every man who meets me would say, 'This is the man that has forsaken the God of his salvation'?"

So closed what we must call a chapter of infamy in the New England history. The better mind, the quickened conscience, awoke. The people saw how their conduct travestied their professions. There were no more executions. Gradually the better sentiment of the people asserted itself. It had, however, made less progress against the obstinacy of the Governor but for the fact that an appeal had been made to the king to stay the persecuting hand. In 1661 he sent a special messenger to the colony (singularly enough in the person of Samuel Shattuck, who had been banished from the colony on the pain of death) to say to them that all persecution of Quakers must cease and that condemned members of that sect be sent safely to England.

"So passed the Quakers through Boston town,
Whose painful ministers sighed to see
The walls of their sheepfold falling down,
And wolves of heresy prowling free.
But the years went on, and brought no wrong;
With milder counsels the State grew strong,
As outward Letter and inward Light
Kept the balance of truth aright. . . .

With its gentler mission of peace and good-will
The thought of the Quaker is living still,
And the freedom of soul he prophesied
Is gospel and law where the martyrs died."

After much hesitation the penalty of death was lifted from the statutes, but in its place was substituted "The Cart and Whip Act." This law was ruthlessly carried out for a few years. Men and women alike were flogged on naked backs and dragged at the tail of a cart from town to town, in many cases enduring tortures worse than death.

Margaret Brewster was the last person to suffer the infliction of this penalty. She appeared in church on a Sunday morn.

> "She came and stood in the old South Church,
> A wonder and a sign,
> With a look the old-time sybils wore—
> Half crazed and half divine."

Her hair about her shoulders and ashes on her head, she "warned the bloody town of Boston to end its cruel laws." If this was a somewhat lawless way of seeking the amendment of those laws, there can be no doubt that they sorely needed it.

There is no space to follow the migrations of the Quakers to various parts of New England and further recount their trials and triumphs. A few paragraphs must, however, be given to their activities in and about New Amsterdam.

As before stated, Captain Fowler, who in 1657 came to America with a company of Quakers, made his first landing in what is now New York and left there two men and five women who elected to make their home with the Dutch colony. Almost immediately two of the women, Mary Wetherhead and Dorothy Waugh,

proceeded to make good their calling as messengers of the New Light. They preached in the streets of the sleepy little Dutch town and waked it up to alarming apprehensions. The loud call to repentance was one to which the people were quite unaccustomed, and they ran around in much perturbation of spirit. The two preachers of the town gave a breezy account of what was going on, saying, in a letter to the authorities in Amsterdam:

"Our people, not knowing what was the matter, ran to and fro, while one cried 'fire' and another something else. The Fiscal seized them both by the head and led them to prison."

So even the Dutch, who had a heritage of religious liberty which they were supposed to have brought with them, failed on their first opportunity to prove their principles.

Lady Deborah Moody, a devoted and evidently capable woman of excellent family, in 1640 migrated to Massachusetts and settled in the town of Lynn. She seems to have been an Anabaptist, in that she was arrested for denying infant baptism. Seeking a more liberal region, she removed to Long Island, and with her went quite a large company of Anabaptists and Quakers. Under pressure in Massachusetts and good reports of freedom on Long Island the numbers rapidly increased, until colonies of them were to be found in Gravesend, Jamaica and Hempstead.

Here were little groups of the faithful, ready to receive the message from the few Quakers whom Cap-

tain Fowler had left in North America. One of them, Robert Hodgson, availed himself of his chance. At Hempstead he had called a meeting in an orchard. Before the congregation assembled he was seized by an officer who, leaving him a prisoner in his own house, went off to the morning religious service. What was his surprise on returning home to find his prisoner preaching to an extemporized audience. Then he was sent to the magistrate's house, but the people followed. It was getting serious. Governor Stuyvesant was then notified. He sent a posse of soldiers, who tied the preacher to the tail of a cart and in that fashion gave him an all-night journey of some twenty miles to a jail in New Amsterdam.

The persecutions continued, nine Quakers being in prison in that town at one time. The psychology of all religious movements tells us how poor a way that is to suppress the Truth. It loves to grow amid storms. So Dominie Megapolensis, the doughty Dutch preacher of New Amsterdam, was obliged to say:

"The raving Quakers have not settled down, but continue to disturb the people of this province. Although our government has issued orders against these fanatics, nevertheless they do not fail to pour forth their venom."

A hindrance to the growth of Quaker doctrines more serious than the hostility of the churches came from the presence among them of a fanatical sect appropriately named the Ranters. They were not really of Quaker origin, having sprung from extreme branches

of the Mennonite and Anabaptist sects. They, however, resembled the Friends in their insistence on the liberty of speech and resistance to all mandates of human authority. So they easily came into the Quaker meetings and not infrequently brought those meetings and the whole cause of the Quakers into disrepute by their wild extravagances. A report of Governor Donegan, in 1687, giving an account of the medley of religions already manifest in New Amsterdam, says:

"There are here religions of all sorts—one Church of England, several Presbyterian and Independents, Quakers and Anabaptists of several sects; some Jews, but Presbyterians and Independents most numerous and substantial. Here be many of the Church of England, few Roman Catholics, abundance of Quaker preachers, men and women—especially singing Quakers, ranting Quakers."

Now that persecution on which the Quakers thrived was lifted, as so frequently has happened in the history of the Church, the days of rapid advance were ended. They, like other sects, settled down to an orderly and peaceful and unprogressive enjoyment of their Christian privileges. There is little more to record of their movements around New York Bay.

In 1664 the colony on Manhattan passed over to British control and a law was issued which provided "that no person shall be molested, fined or imprisoned for differing in judgment in matters of religion."

While the Quakers thus protected grew more slowly in numbers than during their stormy periods, they set-

tled down to a perhaps more orderly life, became more like other sects about them, but continued in quiet ways their defense of the doctrine of spiritual illumination which in all places had been their strength. In 1680 the New York Friends estimated that strength in a letter to the London Yearly Meeting, as follows:

"Through patience and quietness we have overcome in and through the Lamb, and we have found of a truth that the Lord takes care of His people. Our testimonies go forth without any hindrance and return unto us not wholly empty, but have their fruitful workings both upon Dutch and English nations. In a sense of this our hearts rejoice in the Lord for that *His holy light of life breaketh through the darkness as the dawning of the day.*"

Three great leaders carried the Quaker message into the southern colonies. John Burnyeat, George Fox and William Edmundson had been remarkable leaders in any cause and age. Upon the nascent settlements from the Carolinas to the Chesapeake they impressed themselves in a commanding way. When Edmundson went as the first evangelist into the Carolinas, enduring almost incredible hardships, he manifested such apostolic fervor that communities which had had no church or Christian organization of any kind so felt the power of the message that they became Quaker communities and, in their turn, light to other regions.

George Fox did a like work in Maryland in 1673. He held meetings in barns or tobacco sheds or Indian wigwams. Everywhere a divine spirit attended the services and, in Quaker language, "the convincements

were many," not only among Indians and the humbler people, but among "high people"—justices, magistrates, captains "and diverse others of considerable account in the government."

Burnyeat, the third of the great pioneers, was not only a great evangelist, but of a constructive mind, and it was largely owing to his practical methods that Quaker meetings became more than occasions for the narrating of personal experience and tended increasingly to such organization as made for community service. Thus, a large meeting in Virginia, called to consider "the affairs of the Church," took in hand such practical matters as providing for widows and fatherless children, to take care that no disorders were committed in the society and to see that all lived orderly, according to what they professed.

It is written that the cause of the Friends grew and expanded. From the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century in Carolina, Virginia and Maryland there was a steady growth of Quaker principles and following. The strength of Quakerism in those southern colonies was further increased by a considerable migration from the North, particularly from Pennsylvania and New England. These migrations so strengthened the Quaker communities that they were able to plan for extension work and to begin that movement to the West which gave a strong Quaker influence even to the Appalachians.

An unusual example of the increasing toleration shown the Friends both North and South appears as early as 1665, when the English Government gave to

the settlers in North Carolina the assurance that "no person shall be any ways molested or called in question for any difference of opinion or practice in matters of religious concernment."

The Church of England, however, was the recognized and protected Church, and all people were obliged to contribute to its support. In Virginia, especially, church uniformity was severely impressed, and for resistance to it the Quakers suffered hardships even to imprisonment. Forced contributions for support of the English Church lasted even to the beginning of the Revolutionary War when, in the famous Bill of Rights, Patrick Henry wrote these words:

"Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force and violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity toward each other."

This ended the exaction of taxes for the support of an established Church.

As a further illustration of the uncompromising attitude of the Friends in all moral questions, the stand they took against slavery in states where it was increasingly becoming a national institution is worthy of all praise. It was somewhat perilous for William Lloyd Garrison to oppose slavery in Massachusetts in the nineteenth century. But it called for high moral cour-

age to take that stand in Virginia and the Carolinas in the eighteenth century. Their testimony had been unflinching in the seventeenth century. It became more definite in the eighteenth.

The very year of the signing of the Declaration of Independence the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina earnestly counseled the Friends to "cleanse their hands of slaves as soon as they possibly can" and declared that "any member of this Meeting who will hereafter buy, sell or clandestinely assign for hire any slave in such manner as may perpetuate or prolong slavery" should be disowned. When we come to reckon up the influence of Quakers in shaping the national life at its beginnings, their continued protest against slavery must be taken into account. That this protest could be cried aloud in the slave-holding states without involving severe penalties is one of the anomalies of colonial history.

We have yet to touch upon the most beautiful phase of Quaker life in the colonies. William Penn introduced it. New Jersey and Pennsylvania were its theaters. It began in what was called West Jersey, where, by steps we need not dwell upon, the whole wilderness tract passed into the hands of two Quakers, John Fenwick and Edward Byllynge. East Jersey still belonged to an English nobleman, Sir George Carteret. In 1673 there was a strong tendency of Quakers in England toward the new lands.

William Penn was a leader in the movement, brought into it first by his services as arbitrator between the two Quakers who owned West Jersey. His interest

grew with his acquaintance with the land. Doubtless through his influence, "concessions and agreements were entered into by which the spirit of liberty (the condition on which alone the new possessions would have interest to the Friends) had a new application to American colonization." Penn and his partners in the enterprise, writing to Friends in West Jersey, said:

"We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians that they may not be brought in bondage but by their own consent, *for we put the power in the people.*"

Here was the foundation for that charter of religious and political freedom which a few years later found expression in "The Frame of Government" drawn up by Penn for his own Pennsylvania.

Emigration of English Quakers in a body began in 1675 and was continued for several years. Burlington on the Delaware was their first home. In 1681 it is estimated there were upwards of fourteen hundred in the province. The fact to be specially noted in this connection is that they were not refugees. They were seeking only the privilege of undisturbed worship according to their convictions, as were the Quakers who went to New England and Long Island.

For the first time in Quaker history in America they took a hand in public affairs, aiming not only at religious freedom but at political responsibilities. In their Quarterly or Yearly Meetings the affairs of society and the state had full consideration. In a word, they had come to New Jersey to build up communities where

the people might dwell in safety and develop democratic government. As one of them wrote:

"The settlement of this country was directed by an impulse on the spirit of God's people, not for their own ease and tranquillity, but rather for the posterity which should be after them."

To make good their purpose thus expressed they early took an active part, not only in the affairs of the state—three Quakers having been governors of the state—but also in all educational and civic duties. How definite an influence they had later in determining the government of Pennsylvania under the lead of William Penn is, of course, known to all. It is not so well known that in Jersey they had the apprenticeship which fitted them for the wider sphere. Of their activity in political affairs Mr. Jones writes: "They had advanced ideas of the rights of people to govern themselves and they worked out their ideas on a large scale in Colonial America. In Rhode Island the Quakers held the governorship for thirty-six terms and for more than a hundred years they formed a leading influence in the political affairs of the colony. They founded Pennsylvania and shaped its development until the stormy period of the French and Indian wars. They held the proprietorship of New Jersey and governed it until it became a royal colony. Many of their members were in office in Maryland and under the governorship of the famous Quaker, John Archdale, they profoundly shaped the political development of the Carolinas." The peaceful pros-

perity of these Quakers in their new home contrasts pathetically with the wanderings of their comrades a half century before—wanderings in exile and poverty—outcasts from the company of men. This is recognized in a minute written for the Meeting in Burlington in 1689, as follows:

"Whereas, it was the way of the world to forget God, yet the Lord had gathered His people to Himself that we could not forget Him, for though we came poor and empty together yet the Lord in His wisdom and goodness and love met us with a full hand to comfort and strengthen us, that we might not faint in our minds but be renewed in our strength."

We come now to consider what Penn has called his "Holy experiment" in the founding in 1681 of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. This, more than any other colony, had in its founding a number of nationalities and sects. For the securing of them Penn's experience as a missionary in Europe had peculiar fitness. His father, who was a devoted member of the Church of England, was a good deal perturbed by his son's early vagaries which led him away from the Church. Like Fox, he early had experience of the inward light which filled his soul with unspeakable comfort. He believed God had put his seal on him and was calling him to a prophetic ministry. It was while he was at the University of Oxford that he fell in with the Quakers and recognized in them the company his soul had longed for.

After various experiences of study and travel, all

encouraged by his family in the hope of turning him back into the old paths, he chanced to be in the City of Cork in Ireland and was attracted to a Quaker meeting. For this he was promptly sent to jail. This only was needed to fire his soul for the cause of the despised sect. He at once became a Quaker missionary. Persecutions, to imprisonment and the threat of the Tower, immediately followed. His close friendship with the Duke of York, to whose care his father had committed him, probably saved him from some of the extremes of persecution which some of his comrades suffered. Perhaps also he owed a good deal to his splendid courage. When they threatened to send him to the Tower he informed his persecutors the prison might be his grave but he would not budge a jot from his convictions.

In 1677, with George Fox and other Quakers, he began his missionary career by sailing to Holland and later to Germany. These journeys had a direct influence on the future settlement of Pennsylvania, for in both countries he made the acquaintance of and exerted a lifelong influence on many who, like him, were seeking a higher life. His high connections in England gave him a ready introduction to influential circles, specially in Germany where many opportunities came to him for publishing the glad tidings. A wide circuit through many cities—through Mannheim, Mayence, Frankfort and down the Rhine, brought him in touch with a host of Christian people who were dissatisfied with the life of the churches and were groping for the very light this wandering missionary was carrying.

This one journey in large measure determined the large element of Palatinate Germans who in after years came to Pennsylvania.

Penn's first interest in Pennsylvania came by way of a large debt which the Crown had owed his father and which it was willing to pay in American lands. It seemed an easy way of canceling an obligation of about eighty thousand dollars. But it gave Penn a very profitable holding from the Delaware to the western wilderness, an indefinite expansion.

The charter by which this immense strip of land was ceded to him guarded somewhat severely the rights of the Crown, but otherwise was extremely liberal to Penn and to the settlers. More than in any other colony except, perhaps, Delaware, absolute freedom of conscience was guaranteed. "Governments," it said, "exist for the people and not people for the governments." That doctrine, of course, would have undermined the Stuart dynasty if allowed to prevail, but it passed and was the seed plot of all the democratic governments of subsequent times.

This was his daring dream—a state without armies or military power and a purpose to bring all citizens, including Indians, to civilization and Christianity by justice, kindness and love. That was something new in a turbulent, warring world and it early demonstrated its divine power.

Penn was but little in his new colony—only about two years altogether. He was an absentee landlord, but his principles of truth, justice and liberty prevailed as definitely as if he had always occupied his house in

Philadelphia. In a letter to the colony, introducing his cousin, the Deputy Governor, he said:

"You are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great. You shall be governed by laws of your own making and live a free and, if you will, a sober and industrious people."

The success of this noble experiment was so great that in the course of the first year twenty ships carrying perhaps three thousand passengers, mostly Quakers, came up the Delaware. In subsequent years still larger companies came. In 1708-1709 more than thirty thousand Germans came to New York and Pennsylvania. They are the progenitors of the Pennsylvania Dutch of to-day—not "Dutch" at all, but Germans from the western German provinces.

During the same years the Scotch-Irish came from Ulster in Ireland in large numbers and settled in Pennsylvania. Of these we will speak in the next chapter, and their coming is mentioned now only to emphasize the varying nationalities drawn to Pennsylvania by the liberty-loving policy of William Penn. The Covenanters suffered for devotion to the truth among the Grampians, as the Germans suffered on the Rhine. They saw how perfectly the Christian ideal was recognized by the Quakers and so flocked to the protection of the free government Penn had founded. The mingling of these elements constitutes the historic glory of the Keystone State.

Summing up the distinctive contributions made by

the Quakers to the moral and spiritual wealth of the country, that which stands out above every other influence is their unflinching insistence on absolute freedom of opinion. They had many other claims to special recognition.

They were first in hostility to slavery. John Woolman was the leader in this reform. In 1758 in the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, after he had listened in pained silence to discussions which made but feeble protest, he rose and made an appeal so solemn and stirring that it won the assent of the large assembly and a committee was at once appointed to begin an aggressive anti-slavery campaign. Quaker historians claim, and with much justice, that Woolman, more than any other one man, aided the English-speaking nations to throw off the disgrace of slavery.

There was early an uprising against the national evil in the New York colony also which soon found expression in formal action at Quarterly Meetings. In 1767 this query was propounded at one of those meetings:

"If it is not consistent with Christianity to buy and sell our fellow men for slaves during their lives and their posterity after them, whether it is consistent with a Christian spirit to keep those in slavery that we have already in possession by purchase, gift or other ways."

This opened the way for discussion and the maturing of judgment, so that a few years later no Quaker was admitted to membership who had not yet reached the conviction, then common in all meetings, that it was

wrong for a Christian to hold property in any human being. When the Revolutionary War broke out it was said, "Friends themselves were free and clear of slave holding." These fanatical saints were about a hundred years ahead of the ranks of the Christian Church on that great moral question of the century. Had their principles prevailed, we would have been saved the horrors of the Civil War.

They were also advanced in their temperance ideas and in all moral standards. Even tobacco did not escape their sentence. Thus, in one of the Yearly Meetings in Virginia, the land of good tobacco, all Quakers were urged, "To use tobacco with great moderation as a medicine and not as a delightsome companion."

The peace doctrine of the Quakers is too well known to call for emphasis. Their loyalty to their principles has not encountered the hostility which their other central doctrine of the Divine Light has often evoked. But they were—and are—as unflinching in the one attitude as in the other. The severest test their peace doctrine met was during the Revolutionary War. Their devotion to their country was, however, never questioned. Their willingness to serve the country in every way short of bearing arms was always manifest.

Their ideas of social service and community life were amazingly in advance of the general level of Christian opinion in the seventeenth century. Their family life was beautiful and above reproach. They lived their Christianity.

The position of the Quakers in their fair dealing with the Indians is well known. To be sure they have not all the colonial honor in this regard. Penn's example had precedent elsewhere. As we have said in a preceding chapter the Puritans paid for their land. So also did the Dutch. That the payments were adequate need not be maintained. It is difficult to tell what a wilderness in an unmeasured continent is really worth. It is also doubtless true that it was scarce an unconstrained bargain. The colonists came to stay. They had no thought of going back if the barter terms were not accepted. Nevertheless, it is a fair statement to say that the colonists paid in most cases what the Indians counted an equivalent. Of course, in the light of subsequent days, they were mistaken. Trinkets of beads and knives and colored ribbons were poor payment for the rocks of Massachusetts and the rich lands of Penn's Woods; but it was the only price the market offered.

Twenty-four dollars was a bargain-counter price for Manhattan Island; but there were no other buyers in sight and the skyscrapers of the twentieth century could not be foreseen. So let this statement pass—Puritans, Dutch and Quakers paid for their land and got a greater bargain than they knew. Governor Josiah Winslow, in a report to the Federal Commissions, said:

"I think I can clearly say that before these troubles broke out [time of the King Philip War] England did not possess one foot of land in this colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indians."

So Roger Williams could say about his acquiring of the Providence plantation from Canonicus. And so William Penn could say in reference to the Shackamaxon Treaty which, as was said at the time, was not only a fair purchase but was the "welding of a chain of friendship". Indeed, that famous treaty was not wholly nor mainly the purchase of lands, but such a declaration of equal rights as is not to be found in the records of any other colony. Bancroft graphically describes thus the meaning of that historic scene:

"Under the shelter of the forest, now leafless by the frosts of autumn, Penn proclaimed to the men of the Algonquin race, from both banks of the Delaware, from the borders of the Schuylkill—and it may have been even from the Susquehanna—the simple message of peace and love which George Fox had professed before Cromwell and Mary Fisher had borne to the Grand Turk. The English and the Indians should respect the same moral law, should be alike secure in their pursuits and possessions and adjust every difference by a peaceful tribunal composed of an equal number of men from each race."

This reads like the first draft of a Hague Conference! The words of Penn, as reported under that old Shackamaxon oak, justify the historian's statement:

"We may meet on the broad pathway of good faith and good will. No advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. . . . The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain, for that the rains might rust or the falling tree

break. We are the same as if one man's body should be divided into two parts. We are all one flesh and blood."

This, to savages, from the man who was the confidant of kings and had within his veins the proudest English blood!

Another matter of interest at this time was the position taken by the Quakers in the war for American freedom. Of course, this position could not have been a surprise then, or now. Their principles were too well known to admit of argument. But the remarkable fact is the state of mind in which they met the difficult position. It was indeed a time to try men's souls. It tried the souls of Quakers—to be true to their peace principles and to be true to their country. They would do all their consciences would allow. For this respect for conscience they had suffered too much to surrender it, even at so holy a call as the good of the country.

But the crown of their thinking was in the direction of freedom. Their views are axiomatic now. In these days of a democratic landslide among the nations it is easy to quote Lincoln and say, "Government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth." But the Quakers said it in the seventeenth century, said it when with Puritans and Cavaliers alike it had its limitations; said it amid the contentions of a half-dozen colonies, feeling their way often doubtfully to the estate the Quakers had reached as by a divine inspiration. Notwithstanding their radicalism, often verging to fanaticism, notwithstand-

ing a loyalty to truth which sometimes bordered on spiritual arrogance, because of the stern discipline by which they kept their faith in spiritual liberty, they exerted a shaping influence on those colonies and deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance.

IX

SCOTCH-IRISH ELEMENT

IN estimating the influence of the various elements of our population for determining our civil and religious institutions, prominent place must be given to the Scotch-Irish. They are undoubtedly second if they are not first in those elements. As with people of other nationalities, we will understand their influence only as we take account of their origin and the forces that determined their migrations. The distinction between Irish and Scotch-Irish is thus emphasized by Henry Cabot Lodge:

"I classified the Irish and the Scotch-Irish as two distinct race-stocks, and I believe the distinction to be a sound one historically and scientifically. . . . The Scotch-Irish from the North of Ireland, Protestant in religion and chiefly Scotch and English in blood and name, came to this country in large numbers in the eighteenth century, while the people of pure Irish stock came scarcely at all during the colonial period, and did not immigrate here largely until the present century was well advanced."

Professor Fiske suggests calling the Scotch people of the Ulster Plantation "Ulster Presbyterians." This appellation would scarce be accepted by the people who, however long in Ireland, were still proud to call

themselves Scotch. But, however they may be designated, they are the people who, encouraged by Elizabeth and King James, were the settlers from Scotland who took the lands of Ulster in Northern Ireland after the Irish had been evicted.

When the Reformation released England and Scotland from the Papal power, Ireland was left as firmly Catholic as ever. It is even clear that the counter-Reformation, by which the Jesuits in great numbers strove to save the Church from the base condition of morals into which she had fallen, attached the mass of the people more firmly to Romanism. But moral conditions remained unsatisfactory to the crown. There was a good deal of outlawry and barbarism still regnant in the northern counties of the island. To suppress these and to guard against uprisings hostile to the government was the aim of King James in his proposal that colonization from Scotland should be encouraged. The colonization was open indeed to English and Scotch alike. That the Scotch were the ones who chiefly availed themselves of it is to be attributed in part to the strife of which they were in constant danger at home and in part to their more restless, daring and pioneer disposition. Sir William Alexander, writing of the special fitness of the people for perilous adventure, said:

"When I do consider with myself what things are necessary for a plantation I cannot but be confident that my own countrymen are as fit for such a purpose as any men in the world, having daring minds that upon any probable appearance do despise danger and bodies able

to endure as much as the height of their minds can undertake."

This was a race, as President Roosevelt said, "doubly twisted in the making, flung from island to island and toughened by exile."

They were fitted, therefore, both by nature and experience to encounter the rude and hard conditions which Ireland would present. Then, too, Ireland was very near the Scottish border. A ferry of only thirteen miles separated them. There had been a good deal of passing to and fro from earliest times. There had also been many small settlements of Scotch people in the border counties of Armagh, Tyrone and Donegal. The transition, therefore, was not difficult; the inducements were cogent. There was a land just out of barbarism, the people who had occupied without cultivating it had been driven away, the land was fertile and the chance for building up a free state founded on Christian liberty and encouraging Christian institutions was appealing.

So the Ulster Plantation began and prospered. There is no clear record of the number of families which constituted it at first, but it increased from time to time until those eastern counties were settled by a hardy Scotch population determined to transplant to the new country the principles which had made them great and free in their own land.

There is some difference of opinion among those writing soon after the founding of the Plantation as to the character of the early settlers, some maintaining

that most of them were adventurers and many of them on a low moral plane, and others claiming for them all the virtues. The truth is probably between the two extremes. Those were iron times. The people must not be judged by the drawing-room standards of recent days. Doubtless some elements of the new populations did not escape the moral infirmities which made the Lowlands of Scotland sometimes scenes of battle and crime. But on the whole, the Scotch in Ireland kept up their traditional appetite for theological discussions and religious exercises.

Professor Ford, in his admirable history of the "Scotch-Irish in America," says:

"In the time when Blair used to preach his sermons on heaven's glory and hell's torments, both on the same day, it may have seemed deplorable indifference that some of the people were satisfied to hear only one; but what surprises one now is that there should have been so many willing to make long journeys to give whole days to hearing sermons. Such devotion is hardly intelligible until the general circumstances of the times are considered."

Their going long journeys on Saturdays to be present at the Sunday services, spending the whole of the day at church, and the night wherever they could, and, "at the Monday's sermon were not troubled with sleepiness," attests a devotion to gospel exercises not readily found in Scotland or America today.

These then were the people who proposed to make Ireland their abiding place. They had no thought of further migrations. Indeed, the Scotch are not a wan-

dering but a home-building and home-loving people. Why did they pull up and come to America? At first, as we have said, the colony prospered greatly. The fertility of the land was recovered and profitable linen factories were established. But as early as 1633 there came a change in the attitude of the government toward Protestants in Ireland. We need not here detail the steps by which King Charles, under the influence of Earl Strafford, brought a condition of affairs which ran into a decade of riot, rebellion and bloodshed. Thousands of Protestant settlers were massacred. In 1641 civil war broke out and the Ulster Scots were at variance with the government, which had gone back on all its promises and instituted a perfidious and persecuting course of treatment, and with the Catholic Church which had ever been hostile to the Plantation. It was the time of struggle between royalists and the parliament and the Ulsterites suffered from both.

When Cromwell had disbanded the parliament he planned to clear all Presbyterians out of the eastern counties, because their proximity to Scotland would accentuate the dangers coming from the northern kingdom. Plans had earlier been formed to remove all the Scotch to the southern end of the island. All this, however, came to naught when Charles the Second came to the throne and proceedings were begun and carried on savagely against all non-conformists. This persecuting policy affected the whole kingdom of Great Britain, but struck Ireland first. There the Protestant ministers were ejected from their benefices, but they were still permitted to hold services outside of parish

endowments. They kept up their fight during the stormy years when the Catholics were rising in support of James the Second. But at last the English revolution, with all that it implied for Ireland, was ended. William and Mary came to the throne and Protestant ascendency was secured.

We come now to the beginnings of the exodus to America, to what Dr. McCosh called "the transplantation of Ulster." As early as 1635, while non-conformists were suffering the persecutions of Strafford, an attempt was made to transport Irishmen to the new world. A vessel sailed in 1636 carrying one hundred forty passengers whose destination was New England. It had an unfortunate experience. Rough weather and a leaky ship made necessary the return to the Green Isle.

It is sometimes said that the motive inducing the coming of Scotch-Irish to our shores was not religious but economic. That the prospect of bettering conditions played a part in the thought of the canny Scot need not be disputed. Trade between Scotland and America about the middle of the eighteenth century was becoming prosperous. The Scotch-Irish doubtless shared in these hopes and in this prosperity. It is not easy for a Scotchman to separate economics and religion. But it remains true that the fundamental attraction of the new world was in the promise of absolute religious liberty.

The first colony to hold out this promise was Maryland—and that, too, under a Roman Catholic Governor, Lord Baltimore. Anxious to increase the prosperity

of the colony and attract settlers not only from Europe but also from the northern colonies, in 1643 he wrote to Captain Gibbons of Boston inviting settlers to grants of land and offering " free liberty of religion." A few years later he offered a free grant of three thousand acres of land for every thirty persons brought in by any planter.

The Scotch-Irish heard of this liberal offer, accompanied by protection of freedom of opinion, and apparently in 1669 began in earnest the emigration to America. A few years later one William Traill, an Irish minister from the Presbytery of Laggan, appears as the first Scotch-Irish clergyman to begin labors in Maryland. Little, however, is known of those labors. After a few years he returned to his native land. He had a farm on the Pocomoke River and on that is based the thought that he may have founded the first American Protestant Church at Rehoboth. That honor is, however, generally reserved for William Makemie, another member of the Presbytery of Laggan, who came to Maryland. He was licensed in 1681 and came to America a few years later. He is considered to be the founder of American Presbyterianism.

About that time the Presbyterians in both Scotland and Ireland were suffering many disabilities and often persecutions. This determined a large emigration. The attractions to America and specially to Maryland, under the liberal protectorate of Lord Baltimore, set the minds of Scotch-Irish toward that land of liberty. In a volume published in Edinburgh by George Scot,

Laird of Pitlochie, he referred thus to the Scotch-Irish in Maryland:

"I had an account lately from an acquaintance of mine, that the Province of Ulster, where most of our nation are seated, could spare forty thousand men and women to an American plantation, and be sufficiently peopled itself. The gentleman who gave me this information is since settled in Maryland; the account he sends of that country is so encouraging that I hear a great many of his acquaintances are making for that voyage."

Up to this time there was no organization of presbytery in Maryland. Makemie journeyed in restless and devoted adventure from the Carolinas to New York gathering together "the poor desolate people" wherever opportunity offered and preaching to them with the zeal of an apostle the gospel which came to many in their isolation like a strain of half-forgotten music. Everywhere he found welcome. His hardships were continuous but nothing daunted him. "In labors more abundant" might be written of him as of Paul. At last, however, came the reward of his wandering labors and in 1705 he became the Moderator of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, the first to be organized on the continent.

It appears specially from ministerial records that there was a considerable Scotch-Irish immigration into Maryland in the latter part of the seventeenth century. While that state has the honor of giving the first welcome to the Scotch-Irish who were fleeing from oppression, it never became the center of a large colony.

We pass next to the immigration into New England. The earliest movement of which we have any record was the arriving in Boston in October, 1714, of two Irish members, the Rev. William Homes and the Rev. Thomas Craighead. The next year a large company came, and after that for several years there was a steady flow of these hardy emigrants who were fleeing from economic pressure as well as religious intolerance. Mr. Charles K. Bolton, in his "Scotch-Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America," says that "five ships arrived in New England from Ireland in 1714, two in 1715, three in 1716, six in 1717, fifteen in 1718, ten in 1719 and thirteen in 1720."

It would have appeared from such records that New England would be the principal home of the Scotch-Irish. But they found no cordial welcome. The atmosphere around Boston Bay was decidedly frigid. The Puritans had a godly fear of the Presbyterians. The Presbyterians were not quite at home among the Puritans. The good people around Boston were also fearful lest so many Irish with good appetites would eat them out of house and home. Food was scarce and had to be carefully hoarded for the long winters.

So it came to pass that most of the immigrants pushed into the interior. Indeed, thither the Puritans pushed them for prudential reasons. They were known to be a hardy race and very good fighters. The Indians of central Massachusetts were getting troublesome. Why not send the Scotch-Irish as a buffer wall between Indians and Puritans? Had they not been brought up to that—first in Scotland, where they

resisted England, and then across the Channel, where they resisted the Roman Catholics?

So some were induced to settle out toward the Connecticut River, while others, preferring a wider range and more untrammeled surroundings, pressed up into Maine as far as the White Mountains. But the number never was large. Signs of the vitality of it are yet to be found in Scottish and Irish names in all three of the northern New England states. The Scotch-Irish, however, found a more congenial home in Pennsylvania and the southern states.

The latter part of the seventeenth century there was migration, though not in great numbers, into New York and New Jersey. Elizabeth, Newark, Middletown and Shrewsbury soon had a considerable accession of Scotch people. Many of them doubtless were Ulsterites. But early in the eighteenth century the influx became decided. They moved up the Hudson, where the marks of their settlements abide in the County of Ulster and in many names of towns and families.

In 1731 a body of emigrants came from the North of Ireland into the Wallkill Valley between the Hudson and the Shawangunk Mountains. Among them was the Clinton family, made famous in American history by two of the Revolutionary generals and two of the Governors of New York. Washington County attracted successive groups of Irish colonists, and in that and neighboring counties the memorials of Scotch and Irish settlements are numerous. This population never impressed itself so much by its numbers as by the char-

acter of the people; hence, though neither New York nor New Jersey had any large accessions of Scotch-Irish at any one period, nor for that matter in all periods, yet the marks of their intelligence, thrift and piety are on nearly all the communities of these colonies.

But Pennsylvania tells the chief story of the impress of the Scotch-Irish on American history. The climate and the topography of that state were exactly suited to these immigrants. The air of liberty which the career of William Penn had given that colony furnished a further inducement. So, though a few went to New England and pushed over into northern New York, and some went in through the New York Bay and settled on Manhattan and in New Jersey and others, drawn by the warm climate, made adventure into the Carolinas and thence westward, yet the main stream came up the Delaware and gradually made its way over the Alleghenies, leading Kentucky into statehood in 1792 and Tennessee in 1796 and constituting the backbone of the population from the Delaware over the Appalachians.

The first settlements seem to have been made in Chester and south to the Maryland line. The title to the lands near the border was in dispute between Penn and Lord Baltimore. So those Scotch-Irish when challenged for titles innocently replied that they had none, but had come in response to a general invitation. That they came in considerable numbers is evident from a letter from James Logan, secretary of the province, written in 1720, which says:

"It looks as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived and every day two or three arrive also."

Of the six thousand two hundred eight immigrants arriving in 1728, five thousand six hundred five were Scotch-Irish. Later on the arrivals exceeded ten thousand a year. Professor Ford says:

"In 1749 it was estimated that the Scotch-Irish population of Pennsylvania was one-fourth of the whole and in 1774 Benjamin Franklin computed the proportion as one-third in a total of thirty-five thousand."

The Scotch-Irish surpassed all the other occupants of the colonies in their adventurous colonizing disposition. The Pilgrims hung around Boston Bay for generations. It was more than a century before they reached as far as the Hudson River. The Dutch camped contentedly on Manhattan Island, venturing beyond into the forests of the Empire State only under the lure of valuable furs and returning to Manhattan when the cargo was secured. The Quakers sought peaceful homes in New Jersey and Pennsylvania and were content. But the Scotch-Irish were pioneers. The Puritans, as we have said, made pioneers of them to protect their own borders. But it required no compulsion anywhere to induce the Scotch-Irish to extend their domains. They founded the "second tier" of colonies.

Of them in this dispersion first in western Pennsylvania Dr. Finley writes:

"Here they settled, gradually pushing their way southward in the troughs of the mountain streams and making finally a broad belt from North to South—a shield of sinewy men thrust in between the people of the seaboard and the red warriors of the wilderness; the same men who declared for American independence in North Carolina before any others, even before the men of Massachusetts."

They were always glad of a chance to endure hardships in pursuit of advantages physical or social and religious for themselves and their children. They were, therefore, the vanguards of the occupation of a continent for free government, general intelligence and Christian privileges. They did more to explore and settle new regions than any other of the pioneers. Their achievements in this regard were out of all proportion to their numbers. Mr. Roosevelt says that they were the first and the last set of immigrants to plunge into the wilderness—all others having merely followed in the wake of their predecessors. As a result they put the stamp of their strong moral and religious convictions on a wider range of colonial possessions than any other element of the population.

Good judges of agricultural possibilities and values, they pushed out along the water courses, making them the earliest centers of productive communities. Thus, they daringly invaded the water sources of the Delaware, enduring not only great hardships but meeting great perils and frequently the forfeiture of life itself. So also they pushed up the Susquehanna and the Potomac until they found themselves at the base of the

Alleghenies. There, still hungry for what was beyond, they crossed the mountains and established at the headwaters of the Ohio River Scotch-Irish communities and institutions which nearly two centuries have strengthened and wrought into the fabric of the social and religious life of western Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia.

We have alluded to the early settlements in the Carolinas. These also followed the fertile lands to the West and a stream of migration, moving toward and into the Appalachians, met the other stream coming down from Pennsylvania and Virginia, the two uniting to build the great states of Kentucky and Tennessee.

The Scotch-Irish were, of course, Presbyterians and the strength of that denomination in the regions to which we have referred is thus accounted for. In an investigation of the antecedents of two hundred Presbyterian ministers before 1760 it appears that the great majority were Scotch-Irish. And they were as a rule men of character and scholarship fitted to be leaders in a new land. Before schools had advanced far in the colonies, the new communities were largely dependent on ministers from abroad and they were sought chiefly among the Presbyterians of Ireland who had had the benefit of university training in Aberdeen or Edinburgh.

The men thus secured easily became leaders in educational work in the colonies. They early perceived the necessity of training men on their own ground. Scotland was too far away. So, many of the first col-

leges were of distinctly Scotch-Irish origin. William Tennent, the founder of the log college in Pennsylvania, the precursor of Princeton University, was an Ulster clergyman. Of this college George Whitefield said:

"All that we can say of most of our universities is that they are glorious without. From this despised place seven or eight worthy ministers of Jesus have lately been sent forth; more are almost ready to be sent and the foundation is now laying for the instruction of many others."

How solid and broad those foundations were laid history has abundantly declared. How illustrious Princeton College became, even in its earliest years, is illustrated by the fact, as quoted by Professor Ford, that in ten years, namely, from 1766 to 1776, of the two hundred thirty graduates, twelve became members of the Continental Congress, twenty-four became members of the Congress of the United States, three justices of the Supreme Court, one Secretary of State, one Postmaster-General, three Attorney-Generals, one Vice-president of the United States and one President.

But Princeton is only the first of a line of colleges owing their origin to Scotch-Irish influence. Thus, a school started in Philadelphia by a Scotch-Irishman, John Dickinson, was the germ of the University of Pennsylvania.

In Virginia, Hampden Sidney College, founded in 1744, had its location determined for the convenience of the Scotch-Irish settlements in Virginia and North

Carolina. The efforts of the same Presbytery (Hanover) secured an academy which later was endowed by General Washington and named Washington Academy, which finally grew into Washington and Lee University.

A Princeton graduate, also a Scotchman (Joseph Alexander), founded a classical school which grew into the University of North Carolina. Washington College in Tennessee had a similar origin. Samuel Doak, whose parents came from Ulster to Pennsylvania, opened a Log College in the Tennessee Mountains, in 1785, the first classical school west of the Alleghenies.

Long before this organized work, indeed as early as 1777, the Rev. Samuel Doak organized the first Presbyterian Church at Salem, Tennessee, and established Washington College, the first college south of the Alleghenies. Of him Theodore Roosevelt, in "The Winning of the West," writes:

"He came from New Jersey and had been educated in Princeton. Possessed of the vigorous energy that marks the true pioneer spirit, he determined to cast in his lot with the frontier folk. He walked through Maryland and Virginia, driving before him an old 'flea-bitten gray' horse, loaded with a sackful of books; crossed the Alleghenies, and came down along blazed trails to the Holston settlements. The hardy people among whom he took up his abode were able to appreciate his learning and religion as much as they admired his adventurous and indomitable temper; and the stern, hard, God-fearing man became a most powerful influence for good throughout the whole formative period of the South-West."

Tusculum College, also in Tennessee, was founded by Samuel W. Doak, the son of the founder of Washington College. These two are now happily united and doing an increasingly important work for that mountain region.

Centre College, Kentucky, likewise owes its existence to the Scotch-Irish, having been opened as an academy by the Rev. David Rice who had emigrated from Virginia to begin the first school in the state.

In 1789 an academy was started in Washington, Pennsylvania. A few years later another was opened in Canonsburg, only a few miles away. Both of these academies soon became colleges—the one Washington College, the other Jefferson College, which have graduated a host of Presbyterian ministers and which are now united as Washington and Jefferson College.

Other institutions of learning owing their origin to Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism are the Western University of Pennsylvania, Allegheny College at Meadville, Western Reserve College at Hudson, Ohio (now Adelbert University at Cleveland), Wooster College and many others. Colleges all the way to the Pacific have either directly or indirectly owed their existence to the same Scotch-Irish leadership. The West has been progressive in developing educational institutions. It owes a peculiar debt to Scottish and Irish leaders who have inherited an appetite for scholarship and for popular education.

The country's debt to the Scotch and Irish for establishing free representative government on American shores has never been fully told, though the Scotch-

Irish Society has of recent years made many contributions to that story which at some time will be woven into a worthy history.

The purpose of these pages will not, however, be met if at least a brief record be not made of the part those sturdy Presbyterians had in freeing us from foreign domination and in shaping the institutions which are now the glory of America. Resistance to tyranny was in their blood. They had fought for John Knox's battle cry of the Church's absolute independence of every form of civil control. They had proclaimed it and suffered for it in Ulster. It was easy, therefore, to continue that fight in America. The English historian, Lecky, traces the connection between the battles for freedom in Ireland and in America in these suggestive words:

"The ejected tenantry, who formed the Steelboy bands and who escaped the sword and the gallows, fled by thousands to America. They were soon heard of again. In a few years the cloud of civil war which was already gathering over the colonies burst, and the ejected tenants of Lord Donegal formed a large part of the revolutionary armies which severed the New World from the British Crown."

Doubtless the immigrants from the Green Isle were the more ready to cast in their lot with those who were made ready to resist the British Crown by memories of what they had endured at home under its none too friendly rule. Repression of their industries, closing of their markets and eviction from their homes had burned deep into the Scotch-Irish character. They

were quite ready to give a friendly hearing to the grievances of the colonies and, whether their home was among New England Puritans or the Dutch in New York or the Quakers in Pennsylvania, they were prompt and steadfast in loyalty to the country. Quoting again the words of Lecky:

"They went with hearts burning with indignation and in the War of Independence they were almost to a man on the side of the insurgents."

Joseph Galloway, a friend of Franklin, and who refused to sign the Declaration of Independence and joined the Loyalist party, is, according to Professor Ford, a witness than whom no better informed could be found. He declared that "the underlying cause of the American Revolution was the activity and influence of the Presbyterian interest." During the war, testifying before the House of Commons, he affirmed that at the beginning of the revolt not one-fifth of the people had independence in view and that in the Continental Congress "there were scarce one-fourth natives of America, about one-half Irish, the other fourth were English and Scotch."

At the opening of the Revolution there were nearly seventy Scotch-Irish communities in New England, thirty to forty in New York, fifty to sixty in New Jersey, over one hundred thirty in Pennsylvania and Delaware, more than a hundred in Virginia, Maryland and East Tennessee, seventy in South Carolina and Georgia—in all over five hundred. Because they had in their ecclesiastical organization a suggestion of rep-

resentative government, it was through their influence that the idea of national unity first took form.

Indeed, the earliest definite action forecasting separation from the British Crown came not from Boston or New York, but from far-western settlements of Scotch-Irish immigrants. Thus, Bancroft calls attention to the fact that as early as June, 1775, the people of a remote frontier settlement "beyond the Alleghenies where the Watauga and the Forks of the Holston flow to the Tennessee" were meeting to make formal protest against British policy, and he adds, "Most of them were Presbyterians of Scotch-Irish descent."

The authenticity of the Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence, by which one county in North Carolina was separated from the Crown, has been strongly disputed. But we are not dependent on that authenticity for knowledge of the attitude taken in 1775 by the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina. In addition to the illustration cited, it is a matter of record that in May of that year and while the Philadelphia Declaration of Independence was not yet a matter of debate a county convention was held in Charlotte which marked the real beginning of American independence. It, in effect, set up an independent democratic form of government providing for the peace and safety of the people and for the orderly processes of an independent community. In twenty separate sections it made provision for local self-government, declared any one accepting commission from the Crown an enemy to his country, that militia companies be organized to hold

themselves in readiness to execute the commands of the government thus appointed, and to give bite to their resolutions they finally appointed a committee "to purchase three hundred pounds of powder, six hundred pounds of lead and one thousand flints for use of the militia."

And when the Declaration of Independence was under debate and when Congress for a moment hesitated to take the plunge, it was John Witherspoon who lifted his voice till the old hall rang again:

"For my own part, of property I have some; of reputation, more; that property is staked, that reputation is pledged on the issue of this contest."

The first Governor of Delaware, John McKinney, was a Scotch-Irishman. So was the first war Governor of Pennsylvania, Thomas McKeen, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. To New Jersey Scotland gave her war governor, William Livingstone; and to Virginia, Patrick Henry, who carried his state for independence and who, as Mr. Jefferson once said to Daniel Webster, "was before us all in maintaining the spirit of the Revolution."

In the Revolution the Scotch and Scotch-Irish gave to the army such men as Knox, Sullivan and Stark. They gave General Robert Montgomery who fell at Quebec, brave Anthony Wayne, the hero of Stony Point, Colonel John Eager Howard of Maryland who saved the day at the battle of Cowpens, and Colonel William Campbell who saved the day at Kings Mountain—the most critical event of the contest in the South.

Of the four members of Washington's cabinet, Knox of Massachusetts was a Scotch-Irishman, Alexander Hamilton a Scotch-Frenchman, Thomas Jefferson a Welshman and Edmund Randolph a Scotchman.

Of the Presidents of the United States the Scotch and Scotch-Irish have given us Jackson, Polk, Taylor, Buchanan, Johnson, Arthur, Grant, Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, Cleveland and Wilson.

What now are the stars that directed all the migrations and controlled all the settlements of the Scotch-Irish in America?

First of all, a deep religiousness characterized every experience and toned every action. Did they abandon homes that were dear to them in Scotland first and then in Ireland? It was done as at the call of God. They wanted homes for themselves and their children; but it was only that in them there might be a free development of the faith for which their fathers and they had suffered. Nor was their religion a thing of either forms or sentiment. It was grounded in Scripture. The family Bible was the charter of their liberties. To seek its deepest meanings was their delight. They, therefore, brought to their various settlements in the new world a knowledge of the Calvinism which they had found in their Bibles, and a devotion to the forms in which it found expression giving definite doctrinal character to all their communities—character by which their various migrations may be easily traced. Whether in Nova Scotia, in Pennsylvania, in Kentucky and Tennessee, or wherever their pioneer footsteps led them, the stamp of their convictions, from which no

"wind of doctrine" and no "cunning craftiness" could draw them, is seen in all their social life and on all their institutions. Almost universally they were Presbyterians and they are the dominant element in the Presbyterian Church today.

Alike among the Puritans, the Dutch and the Scotch-Irish, it was Calvinism which was the prevailing doctrine. Its relation to the life of our republic has often been recognized. It is Bancroft who says:

"He who will not honor the memory and respect the influence of Calvin knows but little of the origin of American liberty."

Scotland put Calvinism into her "Solemn League and Covenant" and the Scotch-Irish had their blood enriched by the doctrines of Geneva filtered through the heart of Scotland. And on American shores the mightiest bulwark against infidelity or agnosticism will be those same doctrines maintained in unyielding purity among those who look to Grampian hills or Irish bogs as their ancestral home.

The Scotch-Irish contribution to popular education is another mark of their influence in the formative period of the republic. This also came to them as an inheritance from Scotland's relations with Geneva. We point with commendable pride to the public schools that dot every commonwealth and secure universal education, the essential condition of democratic life, and to the colleges which from ocean to ocean plead for scholarship as the most eminent sign of national distinction. Calvin was the author of our system of free

schools, opening them first in his own city, and his mark on higher education is manifest in the fact that most of the great colleges of our country have a distinctly Calvinistic origin.

The Scotch and Scotch-Irish had their full share in promoting general intelligence and more than their share in founding institutions of higher learning. The Scotch have an appetite for learning that finds expression wherever they migrate. It was conspicuous in the founding of Scottish universities even before the Reformation gave its mighty impetus to general education. And in our country one can most readily trace the line of Scotch pioneer advance in the colleges which from Princeton to the far West have given tone and character to the new communities. There is little illiteracy along the line of Scotch migrations.

The reader will, however, at once recall one noted exception to this remark in the conditions prevailing among the mountaineers of the South. Two obstinate facts confront us there which call for some explanation, namely, the Appalachian region is distinctly overwhelmingly of Scotch-Irish origin and it is also the center of the country's largest illiteracy. How shall these facts be harmonized with our contention that the Scotch-Irish have been potent in fostering education? On the surface it admits of no easy explanation, often as such explanation has been attempted. Both literacy and morality are at a low ebb among those highlanders. How came it about?

In the first place it should be acknowledged that the mountain stock was not pure Scotch-Irish. The

Scotch-Irish Society of America sometimes has claimed more in this direction than the facts would seem to justify. A number of elements entered into those settlements at and soon after the Revolution which were of other origin. Englishmen who had not made good in Virginia or the Carolinas pushed into the mountains. Some Dutch and German emigrants found refuge there. Many Huguenots also came in, so that it was never a purely Scotch-Irish stock which took possession of the Highlands. Of their share in the making of the West Roosevelt, quoting again from his "Winning of the West", writes:

"Full credit has been awarded the Roundhead and the Cavalier for their leadership in our history; nor have we been altogether blind to the deeds of the Hollander and the Huguenot; but it is doubtful if we have wholly realized the importance of the part played by that stern and virile people, the Irish, whose preachers taught the creed of Knox and Calvin. These Irish representatives of the Covenanters were in the West almost what the Puritans were in the Northeast, and more than the Cavaliers were in the South. Mingled with the descendants of many other races, they formed the kernel of the distinctively and intensely American stock who were the pioneers of our people in their march westward."

But whatever the original stock, it gradually yielded to that force which has always and everywhere been potent to pull people down and which is expressed in the word isolation. Individualism is always degenerative. Only in fiction do Robinson Crusoes develop

steadfast manhood. Shut a community in to intellectual and moral inbreeding and the result is much the same as physical inbreeding. The process is devitalizing. Providence has ordained that upon action and interaction, whether of individuals or communities, depends the power to advance.

From this power the absolute seclusion of the mountains shut the separate pioneer communities. By insensible gradations life slipped with each generation to a lower level. And there was no counteracting force from the outside, intellectual or moral, to arrest the process.

Both literacy and morals suffer a slow but sure shipwreck when people turn only in upon themselves, and even racial qualities thus change. Even Scotch-Irish persistence cannot ultimately hold its own against the down-pull of mental and moral loneliness. We climb on each other. Where society gives no ladder there is no upward rise. And so the Scotch-Irish of the mountains shut in to themselves, without the stimulus of new surroundings or other connections, fed on themselves to a common starvation. It is not good for a man, a community or—as we are learning these days—for a nation to be left alone. Humanity rises to common levels and they who are out of that broad touch will not rise. It is no disparagement to the Scotch-Irish that they could not surmount the solitude of their hills. It is but the recognition of a common law.

The third outstanding characteristic of the Scotch-Irish in America, in its bearing on the moral and religious life, was its stern and unyielding patriotism.

We have alluded to the part they had in the War of the Revolution—how largely the military and political leaders were of that race. They had suffered much from English rule whether in Scotland or Ireland and were quite ready, therefore, to strike for freedom from restrictions in the new world which had made life a burden in the old.

It is remarkable that the determining battles of the Revolution were fought not in New England or New York or Pennsylvania but among the Scotch-Irish emigrants in the Virginia, Carolina and Tennessee mountains. The men who led the colonist forces at Kings Mountain and at Cowpens were descendants of Ulstermen. When the British army struck the solid Scotch-Irish ranks on both those fields they reeled and fell back and the war was over. And the men thus triumphant at the most critical time were not men of training from military academies, not the troops disciplined by years of fighting like those who fought in New Jersey and New York, but men suddenly summoned from mountain cabins and farms, whose only discipline was that of frontier life, whose only military experience was defending their homes from the attacks of marauding Indians.

When Colonel John Sevier and Colonel Isaac Shelby sent out the heralds to rouse the woodsmen of Virginia and Carolina nearly fourteen hundred men sprang to arms with no equipment but an old-fashioned musket and stout hearts quick to scent peril to their homes and their country, and by the unconquerable valor by which their forbears had resisted Claverhouse and his legions

proved themselves worthy to be called the saviors of their country.

In our Civil War the southern mountaineers honored their national traditions. It is said in Tennessee more tall highlanders stood up for the flag of their country than in any other state in proportion to the population. If in the future there shall be call for American patriotism on fields of soldier service, these same Scotch-Irish can be counted on to stand sternly as well for principles of democracy as for "the faith once delivered to the saints."

X

THE GERMANS

THE composite character of our early population is illustrated by the fact that as early as the end of the seventeenth century there were in Pennsylvania English and Scotch-Irish and Welsh, Germans, Swiss, Swedes, Danes, Dutch, French, Jews and Indians. Even in these later days of a wide immigration it were not easy to greatly surpass that record. It proves plainly enough that we were never a single Anglo-Saxon strain, but that then, as now, our nation was cosmopolitan. This chapter will deal with the German element and its contribution to our religious life.

Their first immigration in any considerable numbers began with 1682 and continued increasingly until 1741. In 1682 the Frankfort Land Company was organized for the purpose of securing homesteads in Pennsylvania for such Germans as, oppressed by conditions at home, both economic and religious, sought the freedom of the new world.

In 1683 the Rev. F. Daniel Pastorius landed on the banks of the Delaware, bringing with him twenty German and Dutch families for the purpose of settling them on a grant of land from the Frankfort Company of some twenty-eight thousand acres. They found

homes along the Delaware and the Schuylkill, incorporating the town of Germantown in 1689.

Persecution and famine combined to force continuous migrations. The English Queen Anne helped in a generous way to make it possible for the restless and unhappy Germans of the Palatinate to seek other homes. She offered free transportation for all who desired to go to America. In response, some thirty thousand Germans went to England *en route* to the colonies. The number was greater than could be provided for, but about twenty thousand secured transportation and, landing in America, made their way up the Hudson as far as Albany, took up and cultivated land and made themselves so much at home among the English settlers that the latter became alarmed and resorted to various expedients to get rid of these people of an alien language. But the Germans had found a good country and saw no reason why they should not share in its bounties. Other thousands came later and made their homes in and around Philadelphia.

As to religious affiliations, they were of various kinds. But the prevailing tone of those settlements was one of absolute irreligion or total indifference, their whole interest centering in the development of the land. They had neither preachers nor teachers, neither churches nor schools. This was all the more remarkable that for the most part they were there because they could not endure the continental forms of religion. Like the Pilgrims they were exiles for religion's sake. Unlike the Pilgrims, they made no prudent provision

for protecting and extending the Christianity for which they had been willing to be exiled. But it is the old story of the commercial spirit throttling the spiritual life, as illustrated in later days in so many of our western communities.

Up to 1730 it is said nothing had been done for the religious welfare of the Germans who had settled about Philadelphia.

In 1743 Dr. Muhlenberg testified to the low condition of morality and religion by writing, "If it had continued thus for some years longer our poor Lutherans would have been scattered or turned into heathenism. Numerous sects and opinions fill the country."

With the Swedish Lutherans in Delaware and New Jersey a somewhat more hopeful state of affairs existed, though the preachers they had were not always above reproach. Worldliness, immorality and the bibulous habits brought over from the Continent too often discounted the preaching.

The first church building was secured in 1730 in Philadelphia. The Lutheran and German Reformed people united in renting an old log building on Arch Street, and in the lack of a minister had sermons read to the people. It is significant that these first German services in Pennsylvania were of a union character between denominations which in later days have not always found federation easy.

The need of an educated ministry more and more pressed upon the scattered communities. Applications were made to the home churches for help. Touching

petitions were addressed to the theological faculties at Halle and Tübingen, closing in these words:

"We trust a merciful God will not forsake us but will excite the hearts of our fellow Christians to assist us in our great spiritual distress."

It is pathetic to record that for years these cries for help were uttered in vain. Germany had no men of the heroic mold necessary to give response, and the settlements in Pennsylvania, New York and Delaware were left as sheep without a shepherd, and that, too, in the midst of wolves, for infidelity and immorality were everywhere ascendant.

The destitution among the German Reformed people is illustrated by the fact that for many years thousands of them were wholly without schools or churches. In Germantown a small church was built in 1733, but, finding no minister, a pious mechanic combined his daily toil with Sabbath ministrations and thus served the people for sixteen years.

Dark as one must paint the general religious condition of the Germans in Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century, it has some relief in the longings of many godly people for a better estate. Many in their forest homes were praying for a brighter day. They had left their homes for a larger religious liberty. It was to them intolerable that their children should grow up in ignorance of, or indifference to, what had been their only solace and hope. Thus, one John Adam Gimber in 1736 wrote a pamphlet burning with the fire of an old prophet.

"Oh, ye souls!" he exclaimed, "if there are any among you in whom is a real love to God, to yourselves and to your neighbors, would that ye might take to heart the affliction of Joseph, the breaches of Zion, the broken walls of Jerusalem, the devastation of the sanctuary."

Then also Henry Antes of the German Reformed Church, a layman and without training or special gifts, for many years identified with the Moravians, so roused the people to a sense of their sin and their need of spiritual quickening that in the very darkness there seemed to be signs of a coming light. God was preparing the way for the missionary adventure of the Moravians.

The earliest sects to enter Pennsylvania were the Mennonites, the Tunkers, the Schwenkfelders and a number of lesser bodies. They were the oppressed people of Christ driven from their homes by relentless persecution and by hard economic conditions and seeking in the western wilderness a chance to develop the peculiar doctrines which had become dear to them.

In 1683 the ship "Concord" brought thirteen Mennonite families who became the founders of Germantown and of German colonization in Pennsylvania. The immigration went on in small numbers, but continuously, for fifteen or twenty years. Later came the lesser bodies to which we have alluded.

Early in the eighteenth century the Lutherans and the Reformed came in increasing numbers. Continuous wars at home had desolated the country and reduced the struggling Protestant bands to the verge of

starvation. They fled to America not for distinctly missionary reasons but to escape extinction.

More than any other of the German immigrants, the Moravians came to America with a purely missionary purpose. Dr. Paul de Schweinitz writes:

"Their sole object was to provide the red men and the white men with gospel privileges. The Indians they endeavored to make Christians. The Lutherans they endeavored to gather together in Lutheran congregations and provide with pastors of their own mode of thought. They tried to do the same for the Reformed, and the Germans scattered about who would acknowledge neither of these faiths they tried to gather into free congregations served by an awakened pastor without defining church connections."

Since the Moravians were, first of all, missionaries, church organization and connection were with them secondary matters.

There is no more romantic story in the history of missions than theirs. The early designation of the Church was "Unitas Fratrum"; but as that conveyed no specific meaning and as many of the first adherents of that faith came from Moravia, it came to pass that the name of that country has been attached to the Church. It antedates the Reformation by many years. In 1457 a few spiritually-minded people broke away from the Roman Catholic Church, unable to endure its dead formalities, and bound themselves together as a "communion of brethren," using the Bible as the sole standard of authority in all matters of faith and practice.

Their spiritual leaders in the first instance were those who had been priests of the Roman Catholic Church. They soon, however, developed a ministry of their own and gathered together people of rank and influence, graduates of the University of Prague, men of wealth and culture as well as very many of the common people.

Although they had separated themselves from Romanism, they felt the need of an episcopate to make their orders definite and authoritative. They discovered among the Waldenses an episcopal order under the conduct of the venerable Bishop Stephen. One of their leaders was ordained by him and thus they have been known as an episcopal Church in existence for over four and a half centuries, a pre-Reformation Church and "the oldest Protestant Church in Europe north of the Alps." It was not only a strictly evangelical Church, but it was also in a remarkable way evangelistic.

Out of Bohemia it pushed its influence and its organizations into Poland and Moravia. In its early history thus it embraced three nationalities distinct in race, in speech and in government.

But it foreshadowed the latest days in church federation in that these three churches formed component parts of an organic church unity, and through all their history, both in the old world and the new, it was a federation of churches, if not a union of churches, that they were constantly striving for. They were hospitable toward all forms of Christian faith. Luther's testimony is significant: "Since the days of the apos-

tle there has existed no church which in her doctrines and rites is more clearly approximated to the spirit of that age than the Bohemian brethren."

The days of their early peace, however, were soon numbered. For the Thirty Years' War came and Rome's powers were enlisted everywhere to crush Protestantism. Bohemia suffered perhaps more than any other country. The extermination of the Moravian Church was almost attained. Indeed, it disappeared as an organization from the land that gave it birth, but it lived on in Poland.

In 1656, when the town of Lissa, then its headquarters, was burned, its surviving bishop, John Amos Comenius, fled to Holland and thence, by invitation of members of Parliament, to England to improve and perfect the system of education existing in that country at that time. The sufferings of the Bohemians aroused much sympathy in England; large sums were contributed for their relief.

After two generations of suffering the descendants of those who had borne the first brunt of fierce persecution, strongly moved by the Spirit of God to find a place of refuge, crossed into Germany and were there welcomed by the young Count Zinzendorf. A born leader, it has been said of him, " He had a genius for religion." The supreme aim of his life was to " win souls for the Lamb." A man high in position, in favor with the courts of Europe, he used all his advantage to give effect to his Christian ministry. Later he had in the court enemies powerful enough to secure his banishment, whether for political reasons or because

of his evangelical principles seems not known. He was an exile for ten years, but always a missionary.

The little company of Moravians who found refuge on his estate prospered, and by his aid built there a new settlement known to history as "Herrnhut"—"the Lord's Watch." Here others joined them and all were bound together in closest fellowship and faith. With a passion to obey the Saviour's commission to go and preach His gospel, and with Zinzendorf as their head, they became the pioneers of the whole modern missionary movement.

The congregation at Herrnhut was made up of two elements—Slavonic and German. The former was the "Unitas Fratrum" of Bohemia and Moravia, who had left a popish land for liberty in a Protestant country. The latter were members of Lutheran and Reformed Churches who wanted a gospel they could not find in their own churches.

In 1739 George Whitefield, who had been on an evangelistic tour in Pennsylvania, seeing the moral destitution of the German settlers and being unable to preach to them in their own tongue, wrote to Count Zinzendorf (although later he violently opposed him) urging him to send them German missionaries. The newly organized missionary church at Herrnhut had become the center of missionary activity for distressed Protestants not only in Germany but in England and elsewhere. What greater witness could they give to their calling than to heed this cry from the wilds of America? Therefore, the year after Whitefield's petition Andrew Eschenbach was sent, who became an

ardent apostle of the gospel among the German settlers in Pennsylvania.

During the years of Zinzendorf's exile the Moravians prospered in many sections. Georgia, the only American colony directly supported by the English Government, came to their attention. It was Zinzendorf's purpose to secure in that new colony an asylum for the persecuted German sects. He started a company for that American wilderness. For some unknown reason they were deflected and went to Pennsylvania. But Zinzendorf was not to be deflected. To find a home for Moravian exiles and also a base for missions among the Indians, he planned an expedition to Georgia. Volunteers were abundant. After long negotiations, a grant of land was secured, and Spangenberg, a noted Moravian leader, accompanied the band to Georgia. In the same vessel which brought his colony came Governor Oglethorpe, appointed by the Crown to be the ruler of the state, and John and Charles Wesley, making their great missionary adventure in the new world.

What might not be expected from such beginnings? Count Zinzendorf, a prince among men; Oglethorpe, a man fit to rule a Christian state; and the evangelists, the Wesleys and Whitefield, to put a gospel impress on the plastic conditions!

With the Moravians then and at other times came a number of sects peculiar and sometimes fanatical and often hard to distinguish, but inspired by the same longing for the holier life and the more prevailing gospel which characterized the Moravians. That we may

know how various, dissimilar and yet similar were the different elements of the population of Pennsylvania, mention of them must be made. They were offshoots from the revivals which in various parts of Europe were testifying to the spiritual hunger of the people.

Prominent among these were the Mennonites, disciples of Menno Simon, a monk of Friesland. The distinctive elements of their doctrines were the rejection of infant baptism and the refusal to take an oath. They had for some time made their homes in the borders of Switzerland, but after enduring much persecution there many of them fled to America. Before 1735 it is estimated there were no less than five hundred Mennonite families settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. They were not steerage passengers. Nearly all of them had money and, living in great simplicity and frugality, they rapidly accumulated possessions which lifted them above all fear of want. Their descendants are still there, living in some cases on land purchased by the original settlers nearly two hundred years ago.

Another sect of German Baptists closely associated with the Moravians were the Tunkers, whose founder was Alexander Mack. They came from the vicinity of Heidelberg and, like the Mennonites, sought the new world that they might have peaceful homes within which to serve their God. They had little of this world's learning but were devout students of the Bible. From their study of it they felt that there was only one right way of baptism and that by immersion. But only an immersed person was competent to perform

that rite. For a long time their organization halted because no one was found with the qualification necessary for enrolling members. At last they decided the momentous question by lot. The man thus chosen became the accredited head of the Church, but who that man was has never been told. It leaves a hiatus where there should be answer to a not very important question.

The Siebentagers, who settled at Ephrata in Lancaster County, were also allied with the Moravians. They were not numerous, but very definite and unyielding in their beliefs. They were mystics of such pronounced type that to be holy they shut themselves away from a wicked world as much as possible, even for that purpose forming a monastic order after the pattern of the Catholic Church, against whose doctrines their creed was a fierce opposition. Concerning them Spangenberg, one of the great leaders of the Moravian movement, wrote to Count Zinzendorf:

"If I had never heard of Diogenes and his tub nor the doings of the Carthusian monks, I might be dazzled by them."

They were the most violent of Protestants, separating themselves from every institution and doubtful of every accepted doctrine. Avoiding society, they became hermits, in some cases claiming inspiration and direct communication with God.

A still smaller but equally definite sect was that of the Schwenkfelders. Only a few hundred of them, they are worthy of mention because to them, with the

Moravians, is traced the early colonizing in Pennsylvania. The founder, Caspar Schwenkfelder, was persecuted beyond endurance by Lutherans, who considered his doctrines subversive of the Reformation faith, and by Roman Catholics who were adepts in persecution. In 1723 he made the acquaintance of Zinzendorf. Their plan to establish a colony in Georgia having failed in 1734, forty families came into Pennsylvania and settled in Montgomery, Berks, Bucks and Lehigh Counties.

Gradually there dawned on the mind of Zinzendorf the noble conception that the scattered German bands should be federated if they could not be united. He would have an alliance of German Protestants in Pennsylvania. With this plan in mind he came to America in 1741. In order that he might be thoroughly identified with the people he gave up his title and his name and, wholly to conceal his identity, adopted an old family name, calling himself Louis Turnstein. Under his direction one of his lieutenants, Henry Antes (a man destined to play a large part in the early history of Pennsylvania), called a general conference in Germantown of representatives of various sects "to treat peaceably concerning the most important articles of faith to ascertain how far they might all agree in the most essential points for the purpose of promoting mutual love and forbearance."

Every German sect in Pennsylvania was represented and as a result seven synods were held in seven successive months, all pointing toward the same ideal of church unity.

Zinzendorf's catholicity finds cogent illustration in these meetings. They were to promote a spirit of harmony and coöperation, but were never designed, as Zinzendorf declared, to constitute church union. At the first meeting, in 1742, about fifty persons were present from nine different sects. On the part of Zinzendorf and those who worked with him it was an effort to agree on essential points of evangelical doctrine and to avoid animosities and unseemly rivalry. While these meetings were not free from the divisions they deplored, yet their general aim toward church federation anticipated by more than a century and a half our latest movements toward a closer coöperation among churches of essentially the same faith. The effort was in advance of the time, and finally came to naught. But it remains as a lesson and an inspiration in the more hopeful times to which we have now come.

When these synods began, although Moravian disciples and missions were to be found in various new settlements, as in Nazareth and Bethlehem, the Moravian Church had no definite organization in America. The presence at the synods of some members of the Moravian churches doubtless stimulated the desire for church organization. This was soon accomplished. On June seventh, 1757, Moravian pilgrims arrived in Philadelphia. During their voyage, under the guidance of Peter Boehler, this company—destined to be one of the mightiest evangelical forces in the new world—had been organized as a "sea congregation." These pilgrims promptly made application to the seventh synodical meeting, which was presently in ses-

sion, to be received into the spiritual connection of the "Church of God in the Spirit." Boehler and the three elders were examined as to their doctrines, the names of one hundred twenty brethren who were to constitute the church at Bethlehem were read, and all present became members of the meeting of synod. There by solemn vote it was ordered:

"That the undenominational Synod of Pennsylvania acknowledges the old Moravian Church just arrived as a true church of the Lord, that their ministers specially will be considered their brethren and fellow servants, that as regards the internal arrangements of their Church the Synod, according to its fundamental rules, will not interfere in any way, deeming this as well as any other Church independent and inviolable."

At this meeting of the synod a pronouncement was made, traceable doubtless to the hand of Zinzendorf, of so remarkable a character as to be entitled to be quoted here:

"All of us, taken together, constitute the body of Jesus in Pennsylvania, which was recognized as such in the first conference of all denominations; acknowledged anew in the second Synod; sealed in the third; opened in the fourth; demonstrated in the fifth and sixth; and in the seventh and last general conference of denominations cheered by the presence of a visible Church of Jesus. We intend to continue holding this Church council every quarter of a year, with all quietness, according to the wisdom which the Lord will grant. Our members will assist; for as regards externals all are called and spiritually all are known. Whoever belongs to the Lord, let him come to us!

"These are the words of the Church of the Lord to all her members, whether hidden or known, yea, to all whom the Lord our God will yet call. Have Thou mercy on Zion!"

It should be remembered that though Zinzendorf's name is constantly associated with the history of the Moravian Church, he remained a Lutheran minister in good and regular standing; as such he was the regular stated supply of the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia. But he was a man of principles so liberal and heart so large that he overflowed the body to which he belonged and was everywhere, among Reformed and Moravians as well as Lutherans, the guiding and inspiring spirit. As is evident from his course in the several meetings of the synod of Pennsylvania, his supreme endeavor seemed to have been to lower sectarian walls and to bring all the various bodies in Pennsylvania into the common fellowship of Christ. Himself definite in doctrine, he accepted the coöperation of all who believed in Jesus Christ as Lord and Master.

Thus much as to the early struggles of the religious pioneers of Pennsylvania. Three elements entered into that early history—the English, the Scotch-Irish and the German. The English, through the influence of Penn, had the most to do with the political life and polity of the people. The Scotch-Irish represented the strength of well-organized Christianity. The German, among Lutherans and Reformed, represented thrift and industrial progress as well as sound doctrine, while the Moravians gave to that and to subse-

quent generations the pattern of apostolic missionary activity.

With the passing of pioneer days the Germans manifested the building power, which inhered in their race. This they did not by their numbers. They were never more than a third of the population. In 1776 Dr. Franklin claimed that of the hundred sixty thousand colonists in the state one-third were Germans, one-third Quakers and the rest of other nationalities.

They were not eminently intellectual. They were neither very poor nor very rich. But they were the great home builders and helped to make the state eminent for the stability of its homes and the strength of its social conditions. Farmers and mechanics, as most of them were, they gave the service needed by a commonwealth that had just been carved out of a wilderness.

We have said as a class they were not eminently intellectual. We would convey a wrong impression if this implied that they were indifferent to education. The church and the school in their minds belonged together. Nor were they wholly lacking in devotion to higher learning. Many of their leaders were university men. In the Reformed conventions from 1747 to 1793 there were sixty-four ministers. Twenty-nine of these were educated in Pennsylvania and thirty-five in the universities of Germany and Switzerland. The colleges and seminaries built by them in the central and western part of the state attest their appreciation of learning. The Moravians were pioneers in the education of women.

In civil affairs the Germans were not at first leaders. A strange language somewhat shut them off. But when came the trying times of the Revolution they were found on the right side. There were Tories, of course, among them as among others, but Bancroft's tribute is substantially correct when he says:

"The Germans who composed a larger part of the inhabitants of the province of Pennsylvania were all on the side of liberty. In both pulpit and press they spoke for liberty in no uncertain tones; nor was it altogether a matter of opinion."

Peter Muhlenberg in Virginia ended his sermon one day by saying:

"'In the language of holy writ there is a time for all things—a time to pray and a time to preach—but those times have passed away; there is a time to fight, and the time to fight is here.' He threw off his gown, buckled on his sword, ordered the drums to beat at the church door, and marched at the head of three hundred Germans, which became a part of his regiment in the army."

The eminence of these sturdy settlers was recognized in early colonial days by Governor Thomas when in 1747 he wrote to England:

"They have by their industry been the principal instruments of raising the state to its present flourishing condition beyond any of his majesty's colonies in North America."

Summing up the mission and achievements of the Germans in Pennsylvania, we cannot do better than

quote from Dr. George W. Richards' pamphlet, "The German Pioneers in Pennsylvania":

"Probably no better material ever crossed the Atlantic to break the virgin soil, to build hamlets, to begin commerce and to practice religious and social virtues than these German pioneers," and he applies to them the lines with which Wordsworth described the Swiss:

> "A few strong instincts and a few plain rules,
> Among the herdsmen of the Alps have wrought
> More for mankind at this unhappy day
> Than all the pride of intellect and thought."

Dr. Richards concludes:

"The German giant is awakening and shaking his locks. The Pennsylvania German is rapidly passing into the broader life of America. His mission will be accomplished when he and his German kinsmen unite with the English stock. Then each will contribute his own unique life, social, intellectual and religious, toward the making, not of a New England nor of a New Germany, but of a new nation, whose proudest boast is expressed in the words, 'I am an American citizen.'"

Estimating in general terms the German influence in the making of America, the following facts stand out:

They represent the finest type of industralism. They came chiefly as farmers and mechanics. They came from a land which has today, as when they came it had, no superior, if any equal, in the development of physical resources, a land which put every acre of

ground under tribute and which trained every physical resource to the highest efficiency.

If any would see how well these German colonists interpreted on these shores the lessons of the Fatherland let him take a drive through Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and see unto what stature the thrifty farmer may grow. Could such devotion to getting the best out of the soil now rule our national life across the entire continent we would hear little clamor about food shortage. Pennsylvania Germans have given us lessons in the conservation of resources which today is the crying need of the times. This contribution to the national wealth gives them a standing as teachers of agriculture which is one of the whole world's best assets today.

Again, as noted above, they gave us the earliest lessons in church federation. How to get together is the tocsin demand of these days. We have not much regarded the fact that the impulse to it came to us first from the Lutheran and Reformed and Moravian Synod meetings of Pennsylvania. This great lesson was not given us by the intellectual Puritans. They had a fine facility for nursing their independence and flying apart. It came to us from people of an alien language, of diverse theological inheritance and of definite and obstinate religious idiosyncrasies. It is true they did not wholly succeed. Indeed, in the end they failed. Their dream was a century and more ahead of the times. But what a dream was that! Even though like other dreams it faded and broke and, in the language of their historians, "the bubble burst," yet

flashes of light and color came from the shattered bubble which have made it easier for us in these days to believe in the unity of the Church as well as the unity of the Faith. Let us praise them for failing in such a splendid adventure!

And, finally, one section of that German Church, the Moravian, gave us our missionary inspiration. Lutheranism was for building a free church, but it was not essentially missionary. Calvinism was a theology for building free states, but it was not first missionary. But the very soul of Moravianism was to blaze abroad the Master's dying command. For that they were willing to give up their sect. They would unite with any others, or they would go forth as individuals without organization or backing just so they might make known to sages or savages the gospel of Christ. And right sternly even to today have they held their going to that polestar of their faith. When the modern Church a century ago took up the work which Paul began it is doubtless true that, next to the inspiration of Christ's command and Paul's example, the voices of Moravian missions in Europe and the wilds of America, defying all difficulties, ranging ever clearer under persecutions, have been mighty incentives as well as sure guides.

We have greatly advanced in the science of missions. We have organized the missionary work to a point of efficiency in which it ranks well with the great secular agencies of our times. We have put under tribute applications of science by which somewhat is being actualized the picture painted by the Apostle

John when he saw an angel flying through the midst of heaven having the everlasting gospel to preach. But we have not advanced beyond the spirit and the example of the scattered and lonely Moravians nearly two hundred years ago. Their example still remains for us the mark of Christian devotion and missionary adventure whose only parallel is in the life and labors of the apostle to the Gentiles.

CHAPTER XI

THE JEWS

THE Hebrews are not a separate nation, but no other element of our population is of so distinct a race. Their influence on our national affairs has been and continues increasingly to be so important that it well deserves recognition.

The Jewish touch on America came over in the caravels of Columbus. The Inquisition in Spain meant the expulsion of the Jews; hence they were ready for any enterprise that would give relief. It was because of Jewish money that the great Genoese was able to carry out his enterprise. On his first application to the Spanish Court for the necessary funds he was turned away because of the depleted national treasury. The Comptroller General of the Province of Aragon, a Jew, was the richest man in the kingdom. He vigorously espoused the cause of Columbus and urged it before the sovereigns and also enlisted the interest of other Jews. The result was that Isabella, persuaded of the possible value of the project of the great navigator, gave a willing ear to the pleas of Luis Santangel, accepted his strong financial aid and so enabled Columbus to set sail.

But he needed men quite as much as money. To secure them prison doors were flung open. In those

prisons were many Jews, shut in there because they refused to abjure their ancient faith. Many of these hastened to Columbus and offered their services. Besides these there were a number of prominent Jews. An interpreter, a physician, a surgeon and several other men of more or less prominence were of that race. It is said it was a Jew who with sharp vision first sighted land and another who was the first to set foot upon it. It is estimated that about one-fourth of the one hundred twenty souls who comprised the company of the three caravels were of Jewish faith. Though these had no effect on American settlements, their presence with Columbus is an interesting fact and somewhat prophetic of what was to come.

But Jews other than those who sailed with the Genoese had an indirect share in the success of the voyage. Several nautical and astronomical instruments used by Columbus, and without which he scarce would have ventured on the unmeasured seas, were the invention of Jewish brains.

The first colony of Jews in America came from Portugal. For years a couple of shiploads annually entered the ports of Brazil. Indeed, so great was the exodus of Jews to America that in 1557 the Portuguese Government forbade their leaving the country.

The next Jewish settlement was on Manhattan Island. A small number fled from Brazil to escape hostile conditions there and found their way to New Amsterdam. Governor Stuyvesant was too good a Protestant to tolerate Jews and he took prompt steps for their banishment. But the Dutch West India Com-

pany was more tolerant than their Governor, and also more sagacious. They not only negatived his order "as inconsistent with reason and justice," but made provision that Jews should be encouraged to reside and trade in the colony, with only the stipulation that they should take care of their own poor, a rather unnecessary stipulation as regards Jewish people anywhere.

This act of toleration led to an increased immigration in following years. They came from Brazil and from Holland and later from England, Germany and Poland. Like the Scotch, they sought their homes in various parts of the country, so that late in the seventeenth century they were to be found in considerable numbers in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina. Under the Dutch on Manhattan, and then under the English, they enjoyed freedom and protection and so prospered that in 1682 they rented a building and opened it for synagogue service.

While New York was early, as it continues today, a strong Jewish center, even in the middle of the seventeenth century they made racial centers in various parts of the country. It is a surprise to learn that the city of Newport, Rhode Island, was one of these centers. Not treated well in New Amsterdam, about 1650 a small colony fled thence and moved to Rhode Island—attracted by the paternal government of Roger Williams. They were soon joined by others from Spain, Portugal, Holland and other semitic centers.

The Jews seem to have introduced the Masonic Order in America, for it is written that among fifteen families emigrating from Holland in 1658 were a num-

ber of members of the Masonic Order who were the first to establish a Masonic lodge in the young colony.

In that same year synagogue services were held in Newport. Here was delivered the first Jewish sermon ever given in America. It was in the Spanish language, and preached by a rabbi who had come from ancient Hebron. The date of this interesting event was May twenty-eighth, 1773. The Jewish community at the outbreaking of the Revolutionary War comprised about two hundred families. The war scattered them and Newport was no longer a Jewish center.

In Pennsylvania the Jews, almost wholly German, settled chiefly in Philadelphia, though many of them found homes as pioneers in the unsettled regions of the state. The first synagogue in the Quaker City of which any record is given was a little log shack in what came to be known as Cherry Alley, the congregation consisting of German and Polish Jews.

Maryland, though liberal, as we have seen, toward various forms of faith, was not an inviting place for Jews. Only to those who believed in the Trinity did Maryland open her doors. It was not until 1825 that the legislature passed a bill protecting Jews in civil and religious rights.

We have referred to the efforts of Governor Oglethorpe to establish a colony in Georgia. His dream was that of a colony that would represent the best elements of colonial population. In 1733 a party of forty Jews sailed up the Savannah River direct from London. The Governor welcomed their coming and they, in turn, labored with industry and intelligence

to carry out his plans. But on Oglethorpe's leaving Georgia the spirit of persecution so easily aroused against Jews made their homes uncomfortable and they removed to Charleston. As early as 1750 they had gathered a small congregation and worshiped in a modest building. They had no rabbi, but the president, one Jacob Cohen, in the name of the congregation, sent to George Washington on the occasion of his election to the presidency a congratulatory letter, which was suitably acknowledged by the President. In that colony it is said such a spirit of patriotism ruled that there was not a Tory among them.

Up to the time of the Revolution the immigration had not been large, but their racial prosperity was with them in the new world. We begin to read of wealthy and influential Jews and of family names which suggest much of the later commercial eminence of New York. When the war broke out, while some were Tories, the majority were on the side of the Revolution. Although many of the colonies discriminated against the Jews, forbidding them rights and privileges granted to all others, no less than twenty-four officers of the revolutionary army were Hebrews.

It was during that war that the first constitution of New York State was adopted (1777) and in it the Jews were given absolute equality with all other citizens. The Empire State thus was the first to give full religious liberty to the Jew.

Gradually, as the West opened for settlement, the Jews found their way to the towns and cities springing up even to the Pacific. The Jew is never an agricul-

turist, but the history of our cities from Manhattan Island to San Francisco bears eloquent testimony to the thrift and home building of our Jewish citizens. While they have impressed themselves on every community, even to the Golden Gate, New York City has ever been their favorite home. One need only walk down Broadway and read the signs to be persuaded that a large part of the commercial supremacy of the metropolis is due to the energy and industry of our large and increasing Jewish population.

The Jews in a variety of unrecognized ways are an asset worth conserving and treating with the consideration due to the most remarkable people on the face of the earth, the one race which—amid all dispersions and persecutions in all ages and lands—has kept stern faith with the Truth as they have seen it.

This fidelity cost them severely. From Spain they fled for their lives to Holland and England, but they carried with them the mental tonic they had received from contact with the Moors. They were scattered throughout Austria and Italy and took an active part in the political, scientific and artistic life of Hungary. They were found in Russia, where they suffered the usual penalties, and even to latest years the Duma has been bitterly opposed to the Jewish claim for liberty. One of the earliest fruits of the Russian revolution is the lifting of those penalties.

Thus, though the development of Jewish life in Europe suffered the handicap of a general and continued persecution, it were difficult to exaggerate their contribution to the intellectual and moral life of the

world. No other race has so influenced human affairs. From the days of Moses they have enriched every century and all the civilized nations.

Let us now glance at their relation to American life. They came to their emancipation earlier in the colonies than in Europe. There were Jews in Canada from the days of Wolfe, founding a synagogue in Montreal in 1768. Since 1832 they have been entitled to seats in the Canadian Parliament.

They have been a factor in the life of New York for more than two centuries and a half, stimulating the commerce of both England and the colonies.

While the business capacity of the Jews finds full and frequent recognition not much has been said of those intellectual and moral traits which have powerfully affected the history of the world and our own country especially.

In various scientific lines they have had a notable record. The Patent Office in Washington, in the hundreds of inventions carrying Jewish names, testifies to their eminence in inventions. In medicine and surgery they antedate Esculapius, and in America they have well sustained their reputation. It were easy to cite a long list of names, leaders in every branch of science relating to the care of the body.

In politics and statecraft the Jews have also held honorable place, though often denied rights freely given to all others. It was not till 1890 that British law removed restrictions and opened to them the civil offices. In our country, while at first there were many such restrictions as in the days of Stuyvesant in New

York, they were early removed. Jews have been prominent in our political life. Thirty Israelites have been members of Congress. Four have been United States Senators. Many have risen to eminence in our courts, and at least one has been a Cabinet member in the national Government, and others have been our ambassadors abroad.

They have likewise been patriots. Though in the Revolutionary War they were found on both sides of the conflict, because under British rule many had risen to wealth and high social position, yet in the Civil War they had so claimed citizenship that there were more than seven thousand Jewish soldiers ready to offer their lives for what they believed to be the call of their country.

In the fine arts they have constantly won renown. They have been conspicuous in poetry, the drama and music. In the latter specially they have led all others. When Wagner produced an opera to show the Teutonic superiority over the Jews, he was dumfounded when on the night of the performance he saw all the first violins in the hands of the Jews. In America the opera and orchestra could scarce have existed if all Jewish elements had been removed from the composers, leaders and performers.

Their high standing in the sciences and the arts attests the Jewish appreciation of education. It finds constant attestation also in our schools and colleges, where frequently the Jews are the leaders of their classes in scholarship.

Their contributions to the moral life of our country

are also worthy of mention. What influence have they had in shaping and conserving those moral and religious instincts on which more than on aught else the permanence of our institutions depends? In a land where domestic life is often clouded, the home-making and home-loving faculty of the Jews calls for definite recognition. They are not in our divorce courts. Their thrift, so often the butt of our cheap sneers, has favored the improvement of economic conditions. Their patience and restraint under irritating racial discriminations have been a lesson in dignified self-respect which it were well for Americans to note.

While it is true that their social solidarity has thus been pressed upon them from without, it is also true that it has a deep religious basis and springs from within. They have ever lived under the sublime conviction that they are God's people. The bonds that hold them together, dispersed though they be over the face of the earth, are divine bonds. So has resulted a social conscience which has kept them true to their ideals in the face of all opposition. Out of this has come that fine organizing power which has distinguished them in various ways, notably in the direction of their charities. Those charities reach wherever the children of Israel are found. In most inspiring ways they are traveling abroad through the earth. In America they find significant illustration in the Jewish care of Hebrew immigrants. It is true that they are not internationally organized; but from time to time they attain joint action for the relief of distress, as for the persecuted Jews in Russia and elsewhere.

But the Jews in each country have their own local organizations for dealing with Jewish questions. In America they have their "American Jewish Committee" which aims to arouse the Jewish conscience to more virile efforts to succor the persecuted and to ennoble the ideas of the emancipated.

By far the most important contribution of the Jews to our national life, unconsciously though they have given it, is the history, poetry, legend and prophecy, found in the books of the Old Testament. Their own fidelity to their Scriptures and their reverence in worship are gifts which we do well to recognize in connection with the religious life of America. Even from a Protestant point of view the conservative wing of the Jewish Church has been orthodox as far as it went. Their orthodoxy lacked only completeness. It stopped with Malachi. It should go on with the Apostle John. Their devotion to fundamentals as they conceive them is often a rebuke to an age in which firm steadfastness to the Truth yields to pliant accommodation or easy indifference.

So the Jews have made large contributions to our religious foundations, and they have taught us lessons in industry, domestic peace, philanthropy and reverence which gave valuable cement to our rising walls.

The trend of Israelites to this young Republic is marked and increasing. Here they will find a large opportunity for racial development along lines by their own prophets foretold and recognized in the words of their great poet, Heine:

"In America liberty enlightens the world, and the oppressed and downtrodden of all lands find a refuge and a home. Well then may the Jews take their harps down from the willows, and instead of sitting by the banks of the Jordan and the Kedron, sit by the Hudson and the Mississippi, to sing their sweet songs of praise and chant the lays of Zion. In America, they find, not only liberties, but *Liberty!*"

And Madison C. Peters, in his gathering of facts of Jewish history to which this chapter is largely indebted, says:

"As America has given the Jew a haven, let her do more: let her take him to her breast and treat him as she does her other children, and she will find that he will be just as dutiful, even more so. Though as yet she has not given him 'the square deal,' he has not been unmindful of the filial devotion he owes to her as his adopted mother. Lord Macaulay said: 'The Jew is what we made him.' He is the handiwork of our own civilization. The American Jew is at the present what America is making him. Not his destiny, but his influence for good or evil, lies in her hands."

XII

A REVIEW

BACK of all the varieties of religious experience and all the forms of theological statement recorded in the preceding pages, one mighty, inspiring, directing and controlling force stands out. The Reformation of religion in the sixteenth century determined the subsequent history of Europe and shaped the American Republic. The stroke of Luther's hammer on the Wittenberg door was Thor's hammer to shatter the ecclesiasticism of the dark ages and break open a path of religious light and hope which brought on the new day of all following centuries. It broke the shackles which held men to a dead formalism and released the spirit of inquiry by which the world came to its charter of religious liberty.

One of the first results of this awakening spirit was to break the rigid rule of uniformity and so to introduce that diversity of doctrine and life which is always the result of the freedom of opinion. No longer should one prescribed set of doctrines rule men's thinking or one cast-iron ecclesiasticism determine their worship. Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the first effect of the liberation of the mind was a confusion of doctrines.

Calvin and Luther, Zwingli and Melanchthon soon were at variance. Systems of doctrine were arrayed against one another. Denominational names were adopted which abide to our day. The beautiful unity of one Church and one creed was shattered. In its place came a diversity of names quite confusing to those who long for the unity of the Church.

Two outstanding facts, however, may well be our comfort amid the strife of tongues. The first is this—the unfettering of the mind is the beginning of disagreement. Free opinion leads to a fine individualism. All molds are broken and human thinking goes its own solitary road. A bundle of sticks may be tied in close and unresisting conformity, but live twigs will insist on themselves and develop according to an expanding inner force, against which withes are impotent. So no one need say the Reformation failed because the seventeenth century witnessed a remarkable and increasing diversity of creeds and the setting up of a puzzling variety of religious forms. The new Christianity was not being shivered. It was only growing.

But in the second place, more remarkable than the individualism that marked the first generations of the Reformation movement, was the underlying unity of Reformation life. In its outer manifestations it had the varieties of cathedrals and stately service of churchmen in England as well as the ecstatic worship of Moravians in mountain huts in Bohemia and Poland; and of the severe logic of Calvin and the emotional fervor of Huguenots.

But underneath all forms, whether of doctrine or worship or temperament, was the essential unity of the faith. In preceding chapters we have followed the separate forms as historically developed. Taken by themselves, they have seemed divisive. Racial or national differences drew sharp lines. In European centers they formed opposing camps, resulting in opposing theologies or ceremonies. But once carried across the ocean, the pressure of common trials and perils bound them together. The differences became small and were harmonized, less by external pressure than by an inner mastering force. For back of all national or creedal idiosyncrasies was the Reformation principle to which all looked as their inspiration in a new life and the impulse which brought them to America.

So Quakers and Scotch-Irish and Germans in Pennsylvania sank their differences and united to build a great commonwealth. So Puritans and Scotch-Irish in New England; so Dutch and English in New York dwelt together not always without friction but always ready to subordinate their differences to the one controlling purpose to maintain in the new world the liberty of opinion which the Reformation had given them in the old world.

The philosophy of our history makes it apparent that this unity in diversity gives the strongest support of our national structure. If the Reformation should be of the utmost value in our making of a nation, its ideas must come filtered through different and dissimilar peoples. Our recent history only emphasizes what our very earliest history suggested—that America

should be cosmopolitan; that our national anthem should be not one bugle note ringing out to the nations, but an orchestra in whose blended chords a score of struggling peoples would express their ambitions and hopes.

What if America had uttered only the Latin type of thought and life, how stunted had been our development then! What if Anglo-Saxon or Celt or Teuton had been alone, along what narrow channels had the national life been moving! Science and philosophy have long taught us that the riches of the world are in its varieties.

The riches of nationalities are subject to the same law. Our fathers began the experiment of nation building out of dissimilar or opposing elements. In these days we are daringly carrying the experiment further and maintaining that, as God has made of one blood all the nations on earth, so there is no people whose blood may not have some enriching power in building the temple of American manhood.

And if we do this in fidelity to the ideas which have made us great, we will realize Herbert Spencer's prophecy when he said:

"It may, I think, be reasonably held that both because of its size and the heterogeneity of its components, the American nation will be a long time in evolving its ultimate form, but that its ultimate form will be high. One result is, I think, tolerably clear. From biological truths it is to be inferred that the eventual mixture of the allied varieties of the Aryan race, forming the population, will produce a more powerful type of man than has hitherto existed, and

a type of man more plastic, more adaptable, more capable of undergoing modification needful for complete social life."

History sustains Mr. Spencer's prophecy. The better types of manhood have resulted from the mingling of race varieties. The splendid Germanic races, so long the dominating forces of Central Europe, grew up slowly out of many varieties. The Roman Empire was preserved a while from the effects of its own deterioration by the daring incursion of the Northern races. England is the standing historical illustration of what a blending of races can do toward developing national character.

But there is no nation whose beginnings are so significant as those of our own. The value, as well as the interest, of these beginnings is illustrated by a remark made by Mr. Gladstone, when he declared that the birth of the American states was of more interest than any other it was possible to study, and added that "whenever a young man desirous of studying political life consults me, I always refer him to the early history of America." Specially will this study become interesting and important to those who shall agree with Mr. Gladstone when he says again, "I incline to think that the future of America is of greater importance to Christendom at large, than any other country."

Indeed there can be no intelligent understanding of our present position, nor a clear outlook toward our future estate as a nation, unless we shall be able to take

wise account of the various historical tendencies that have resulted in our nationality.

We have endeavored to outline these tendencies in the preceding chapters. Three factors, speaking broadly, may be said to enter into the formation of any nation: The principles at its foundation, the institutions that have been built into its growth, and the men who have illustrated those ideas and founded those institutions. Let us now gather these strands into the cable of Christian influence which holds America true to her inheritance and traditions.

First. What principles ruled our national beginnings? As we have shown, our country is peculiar in tracing its origin, not to any one but to a number of European peoples. As we have seen, the chief factors of the national life came to us from England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany and Holland. As the fingers come to the wrist so these nations have come to a certain solidarity in our own country. Therefore, we have striven to trace the essential truth elements of these respective nations.

Of what ideas of truth, tolerance, education and liberty were they respectively exponents when the great Reformation that quickened all Europe from the Orkneys to the Tiber had done its work, and the historian had had time to look about over the countries which it has influenced? Certain leading truths so developed and new to the world are called *Reformation Truths.* They were condensed in Luther's slogan, "Justification by Faith alone." Some of these truths had existed ages before, were an inheritance from

Roman law and primitive Christianity, but had been swept away or covered up by the general flood of ignorance and oppression. Now with the luster of new ideas, fresh born from Heaven, they emerged to gladden the world. As one traces the various streams that through the flats of Holland slip into the sea to the one strong river that clave the German hills, so one can follow the doctrines of personal liberty, rights of conscience, human brotherhood and free government, springing up in England and Scotland, in Holland and France, almost simultaneously, toward one sourceful fountain, until at last it rushes down from the Alps; for it requires no very profound or prolonged study of historic tendencies to discover that emigrants from Scotland, and the Netherlands, and England, and France, drank their first drafts of intellectual and spiritual liberty in the new-born republic of the city of Geneva.

Greene, in his History of the English people, recognizes truly the genius of the new life of Europe, and of the Reformation when he says:

"As a vast and consecrated democracy it stood in contrast with the whole social and political framework of the European nations. Grave as we may count the faults of Calvinism, alien as its temper may be in many ways from the temper of the modern world, it is in Calvinism that the modern world strikes its roots, for it was Calvinism that first revealed the worth and dignity of man. Called of God and heir of Heaven, the trader at his counter and the digger of the field suddenly rose into equality with the noble and the king."

Democratic government, free institutions, free schools, popular education, are the nerve ideas traceable to Geneva and John Calvin. The marks of their origin are distinctly upon them. They go down from that elevation to Holland, France and England, and so to the United States by way of Southampton and Delfthaven and Londonderry and Havre.

Our historic study has made plain how these nerve ideas reappear successively in the lands whence our fathers came. It illustrates how through

> "The ages one increasing purpose runs;
> And the thoughts of men are widened by the process of the suns."

When the Scotch recalled John Knox from Geneva to resist, as they felt no army of the Highlands could resist, the encroachments of queens and prelates upon their national liberty, what was the word he brought them which should stand them instead of battalions but this—"No king but Christ!" It was in Geneva he learned to say that. When the Covenanters, driven first to Ireland, and from Ireland to the United States, settled all the way from New England to South Carolina they were the earliest and staunchest friends of American independence. They who first held Derry against James, were ready to hold the liberty of the United States against all the armies of the Georges. The line is straight from the banks of the Delaware past the banks of the Boyne and the Firth of Forth, to the waters of the Rhone.

Another stream descended from German and Swiss

hills to the dikes of Holland, in that little land which was the scene of the first struggles for liberty and which for many years defied the army and navy of Spain. "Brave little Holland," as she has well been called; the land of an unconquerable love of civil and religious liberty, of indomitable courage, of absolute democratic principles and habits of life, and marvelous and prodigious industry which alone had served to wrench the kingdom from the grasp of Neptune. Are we not indebted to her settlements in New York and New Jersey, as well as to her indirect influence on the settlers in New England, for much of moral fiber and intellectual strength upon which our nation rests today?

We are accustomed to say that we are dependent largely for national strength on English laws and English spirit, but the grandest contribution which England made to the life of our nation, was in the Puritan's ideal of a universal kingdom of righteousness and truth. The superb ideal which they furnished came to us through the Puritans from Southampton and the Pilgrims from Holland.

We have adverted to the claim that the British influence on American life came to us by way of the Dutch Republic. While this obligation is large, it probably is historically true that the chief obligation of New England is to the Pilgrims who settled the Plymouth colony and to the Puritans who at the English Revolution in large numbers came to our shores and formed the Massachusetts Bay Colony. They comprised the very best elements of English society. The twenty

thousand who, with Hooker, Winthrop and Mather between 1630 and 1640 settled New England, gave us the distinctive type of Puritan life which, with all its faults, has been one of the grandest ever impressed on a young nation, and the source of much of the intellectual and moral power which made New England eminent in colonizing energy, all the way to the western prairies. This superb ideal of a universal Christian kingdom on earth was dreamed long before by the great Genevese reformer in his "Institutes of Religion."

Thus our country is the last result of time; the product of energies whose theater was all northern and western Europe, whose goal and home was the wilderness of America. How marvelously God works! The opening of His Word, and the opening of the new world are synchronous; each was fitted to and for the other.

Second, institutions. An institution is a human personality, writ large and with indelible ink. "An institution is the lengthened shadow of a man." Where the sun of progress shines, that shadow is sharply cast, and surely remains.

We have considered some of the *principles* which underlie the American nation, and have tried to find their origin in the old world. These principles, the exponents of convictions, have become incarnate in certain characteristic American institutions. Let us try to define them, and then trace their genesis.

Matthew Arnold said, "The more I see of America,

the more I find myself inclined to treat their institutions with increased respect. Until I went to the United States, I had never seen a people with institutions which seemed expressly and thoroughly suited to it. I had not properly appreciated the benefits proceeding from this cause."

American institutions are peculiar to American soil. Every people must develop its own, and as are the institutions, so will be the character of the people, because institutions are only incarnate principles. We have said that one of the germinant ideas of our Republic was the equality of men. It is declared in the first sentence of the Declaration of Independence. It was declared first in the doctrines of John Calvin. It resulted in the political framework of the American nation. The first institution that grew out of it in America, as in Geneva, was that of an independent church. To secure that independence Holland made her first fight. Scotland made the Grampians ring with martial music and martial tread. For it, the Pilgrims went to Holland and afterwards came to the United States.

For a while the constitutions of the different states differed from one another in this respect. Some provided for a state church; some provided against it; some were neutral. But it was of the very genius of the principles underlying our Government that union between church and state could not long abide, and, therefore, New York in her first constitutional convention in 1777, repealed all such parts of common law, and all such statutes as "could be construed to

establish or maintain any particular denomination of Christians or their ministers."

A few years later Virginia and the other states followed; the new states coming into the Union since the adoption of the Federal Constitution have all, of course, come in under the banner of absolute separation of church and state. That doctrine is the child of the Reformation which in half a dozen European countries was the deadly foe of tyranny and despotism, which stood guard over the cradle of American liberty in Holland and Scotland, and nurtured liberty to its manhood in the United States.

Again, one of the institutions of our country is the representative structure of our Government, resting on a stable, written constitution. Because Great Britain has no written constitution, because her so-called constitution is the growth of abstractions, traditions, and often contradictory parliamentary proceedings, her eminent statesmen have of late been looking with refreshing admiration to this document, the palladium of our liberties. The well-known remark of Mr. Gladstone, " So far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain of man, is the American Constitution," is the mature judgment of the man who of all other men has struggled for constitutional liberty in Great Britain.

Upon that written Constitution, at once the pride and glory of our nation, stands a system of republican government crowned by that magnificent institution peculiar to our country, the Supreme Court, the guardian of all legislation and the power that stands for the

purity and stability of every department of our Government. A recent writer claims that our representative system is copied from Holland. The claim is too large to be allowed in its fullness. But Dutch history was doubtless studied by the framers of the Constitution, and such features as a senate—a form of a supreme court—freedom of religion and of the press —were doubtless present in their minds.

It is, however, too much to claim that any one country gave us the pattern of our great institutions. The impulse toward them came from many lands. But the institutions are American. It required a revolution to firmly establish these institutions of a free church and a free state and a free constitution and republican government, "but what was the Revolution," as Bancroft has said, "but the application of the principles of the Reformation to our civil government?"

Another of our institutions without which this Republic could not exist, since intelligence lies at the basis of independence, is our common-school system. In 1642 it was the law of Puritan New England that "None of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them to perfectly read the English tongue." And in 1647 it was ordered in all Puritan colonies, "to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, that every township after the Lord has increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to read and write, and when they

shall have increased to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct the youths so far as they may be fitted for the university."

The eminence of New England lies originally, not in her great colleges—though her liberality to higher education has always been conspicuous—but in her common schools. Connecticut, under the lead of Hooker, had the honor of first securing schools supported by government. Every child as it came into the world was taken in the arms of the country's guardianship, and received for its inheritance the pledge of mental and moral training. Whence came our system of common schools? "The common-school system was derived from Geneva, the work of John Calvin, was carried by John Knox into Scotland, and so became the property of the English-speaking nations." The historian might have added, it was taken from Geneva to Holland and Sweden. In Sweden in 1637 not a single peasant child was unable to read or write. At the outbreak of the war with Spain, the peasants in Holland could read and write well, and in the first Synod of Dort, 1574, it was directed "that the servants of the church obtain from trustees in every locality permission for the appointment of schoolmasters, and an order for their compensation as in the past."

Holland probably held the preëminence for schools supported by the government. "A land," says Motley, "where every child went to school, where almost every individual inhabitant could read and write; where even the middle classes were proficient in mathe-

matics and the classics, and could speak two or more modern languages." From this it would follow almost as a matter of course, that among the first free schools in this country were those established by the Dutch settlers of New York.

So much for Reformation principles and institutions. But both have men back of them. Principles are incarnated in character. Let us glance at the great personalities that have declared these principles and projected these institutions. What is our great personal indebtedness to the old world?

In these days we will not fail to see and fully estimate the colossal figure of Martin Luther. At whatever stage of his career we regard him, he is easily one of the most interesting—as always one of the most commanding—figures of history. Whether a seeking soul climbing the stairway in Rome, or with leonine daring confronting the powers of an empire at Worms, or trumpet-tongued proclaiming to great universities or to the common people the new gospel of spiritual and intellectual liberty, he was—under God—the maker of a new Europe and through Europe the foundation-builder of civil and religious freedom in America.

There were many reformers who shared his honors, but there were four men who, more than any others, had to do with inspiring ideas which in turn gave form to American life. Calvin, Knox, Coligny and William of Orange were representative of certain types of Reformation doctrine. These types we have found reproduced in our own land.

Calvin stood for the sovereignty of God, and for the equality of men. His doctrine of divine sovereignty breathed again in the prayers on the "Mayflower," in the religion of the Jamestown colonists, and afterward in public documents and in addresses in early colonial history. John Adams expressed it all when he said, while the fate of the Declaration was hanging in the balance of debate, "It is the will of Heaven that Great Britain and America should be sundered forever." It was the mission of Calvin to put the idea of God into the constitutions of the thirteen states, and if ever the time shall come when that idea shall be dim in the popular thought, when the tonic of it shall disappear from our theology and the reason for it fade from our philosophy, we will only need to uncover colonial history to see it shine again in its brightness as it shone in the theology of the Reformer, like Mont Blanc among the snowy Alps.

The correlate of the idea of God is that of an independent and heroic manhood. Only such manhood could found a new world. It was illustrated by the Huguenots in France, and the man who stands for its loftiest spirit is the Admiral Coligny. When Louis the Fourteenth, that small great man, who was "little in war, little in peace, little in everything but the art of simulating greatness," revoked the Edict of Nantes, a half million of the best sons of France were driven from their native land to sow the seeds of valor along the Rhine, the Maas, the Thames, and the Hudson. Their mark is today on all our greatness. Their heroism lived on many battlefields of the Revolution.

Thus, long before the chivalric devotion of Lafayette, we were bound to the land of arts, romance and heroism by the emigrants who from the Penobscot to the Santee avowed the simple faith they had received from Geneva, and translated it into martial valor on the fields of St. Denis and Orleans.

It was reserved for Scotland to wage war with princes for the kingship of Christ, and the lordship of the truth. John Knox was the ruling spirit of the storm. The debt which not only Scotland, but all who strove for liberty in any realm, owed that man is expressed in the words Thomas Randolph sent to Sir William Cecil: "This man Knox is able in one hour to put more life in us, than five hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears."

And William of Orange, representing simplicity of life, regal dignity of character and unconquerable aversion to all tyranny, is bound to us by the important relations the Dutch sustain to our history. These men who thus put the stamp of their rare manhood on the early history of the Reformation have worthy successors among us. Many of the names of those successors appear in preceding pages.

In statesmanship and religion the men who molded our destiny and have led on our history drank their inspiration from the heroes who, on battlefields, in council chambers and in Christian pulpits, illustrated the virtues and defended the power of that Reformation which swung the world forward on its new path of human and national development.

These words are written when the world is under-

going its baptism of blood and when America is called to the altar of sacrifice for humanity. The work of the sixteenth-century Reformation is not done. It is called into action again in the twentieth century. The glorious doctrines of personal liberty, freedom of conscience, and faith in God which inspired reformers in Europe must do their work in America. They did not fail in the agonies of the sixteenth century. They will not fail us now. America called to a new strange task will honor her inheritance and be true to the centuries behind her. We have long said we were a nation throned amid oceans. But oceans are bridged. We are a nation throned amid nations. We unite in one the individualism of Greece, the organizing faculty of Rome, the religious power of the old Hebrews. And civilization on every shore stands silent and waiting while we are put to the test. Only as we now honor our Reformation ancestry in a struggle for human rights, will the ages to come honor us. The historic spirit that recalls our lineage demands that today we measure up to our supreme authority, our commanding obligation.

And if we get the full inspiration of our past we will not fail in the crucial demands of the present. There is a story of a battle above the clouds which, as in mirage, was hanging in transfigured light, and those who fought below were cheered on by seeing the glorified battle scene above, where all the seeming defeats below were pictured in the colors of a glorious victory.

Such an inspiration will be for all who fight for lib-

erty in the future. Above the clouds and above the alternations of earthly chance, may be seen the transfigured fields all glorious in the light of triumph. There is Orleans and Leyden—there is Marston Moor and Bothwell Bridge. There, too, are the bloodless fields of intellectual and moral agony—Wittenberg and Geneva, Dort and St. Andrews. And, as their earthly defeat is uplifted into victory in the fair perspective of history, from the bending sky of the gracious centuries faces come out and look down upon us, no longer scarred and anxious and bleeding, but serene in an imperial majesty and benignant with divine encouragement. The fearless face of Luther when he cried, " God help me! I can do no other "; the thin visage of Calvin softened till it looks like a benediction; the piercing countenance of Knox, gracious and at rest; the stately figure of William of Orange; the noble bearing of Coligny, calm as that marble image of him that looks out upon the Rue de Rivoli at Paris. They are our fathers, and we are their children. And if Heaven calls us or our descendants into stress or storm, our knowledge of their victories and our sense of our lineage will keep us true to our chance, our country and our God.

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